Daily Report

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Trident II Missile Explodes During Test Firing

LD1608070689 Moscow TASS in English 0702 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] New York August 16 TASS—A Trident II nuclear missile exploded shortly after launch during a test firing from a submerged submarine, 320 kilometers off Cape Canaveral, Florida, on Tuesday.

A U.S. Navy spokesman refused to comment on the cause of the explosion until telemetry analysis is completed.

This is the 22nd test of Trident, the fifth failure, and the third undersea firing. The first undersea firing on March 21 resulted in an explosion as well. The second test of the kind was planned for July 28, but postponed for five days due to the protests of environmentalists, who entered the launch zone.

The U.S. Navy intends to carry out at least six more sea trials of the Trident II in the next eight months.

INF Inspection Team Arrives in UK

LD1708055389 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] London August 17 TASS—A team of Soviet experts arrived at the U.S. Airforce Base in Greenham Common, Berkshire County, Britain, on Wednesday to check compliance with the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) in line with the provisions of this treaty.

It was officially announced here two weeks ago that the first batch of the U.S. medium-range missiles was withdrawn from the Greenham Common Base.

The United States deployed its medium-range missiles at two British bases—in Greenham Common and Molesworth, Cambridgeshire County. The withdrawal of all missiles and warheads from the base in Molesworth was already completed.

Nuclear, Space Arms Talks Discussed

LD1608180989 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The United States should take steps that would lead to real progress at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms. Such an opinion was recently expressed in an editorial of THE NEW YORK TIMES. This is quite a timely wish as precisely now there is every opportunity to lessen the nuclear menace by joint efforts of the USSR and the USA.

At the recently concluded eleventh round of the talks, which was the first round for the Bush Administration, the U.S. side declared that it will adhere to the positions coordinated by the USSR and the USA during the Reagan Administration. Continuity in the areas which might be starting points for bringing closer the positions of the sides should undoubtedly be welcomed. But what was the contribution of the current U.S. leadership at the latest round of the talks toward eliminating the remaining obstacles to the arrangements?

Frankly speaking, the "additions" to the stand of the previous administration cause mixed feelings. As to the proposal of the U.S. side that measures of verification and stability be prepared and implemented on a trial basis even before the conclusion of a treaty on strategic offensive arms, it merits attention. Apparently, joint experiments in the area of verification will promote an early ratification of such a treaty by the senate of the U.S. Congress. So this proposal can be rationalized in some way. Only it is important that the proposed measures be taken along with the working out of the main text of the treaty, and should neither replace nor hamper this process.

New provisions by which the Bush Administration stipulates the implementation of arrangements on the destiny of the ABM Treaty reached by Gorbachev and Reagan can hardly promote the advance. U.S. representatives declared at the talks that the United States will agree not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty for a specified period of time only if three conditions are recorded: the recognition of the right of each side to deploy space-based defence systems after the specified period of non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty expires, the preservation of usual rights for withdrawal from the treaty and termination of its operation, specification of the rights to develop, test and deploy ABM weapon systems. It is quite obvious that the third condition, "specification", is aimed at altering the very essence of the ABM Treaty under which the parties undertake not to develop, test or deploy space-based ABM systems or components.

Advancing its conditions the USA at the same time refused to accept the USSR proposal for including in the text of a treaty on strategic offensive arms the proposal for the termination of its operation in case of violations of the ABM Treaty or the agreement to observe it for a specified period of time.

Washington has not done anything to resolve other disputed questions. One cannot but be surprised that the U.S. Administration, while trying to persuade the Congress to make appropriations for two kinds of mobile land-based ballistic missiles, left on the negotiating table in Geneva its proposal for a ban on the deployment of such missiles.

All this obviously shows that the U.S. Administration is in no hurry to reach agreement on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms. One might suppose that there are two explanations for this attitude. One is that the U.S. military-political leadership does not yet realize what kind of strategic forces it will need after making

reductions and how the future structure of such forces can be coordinated with the United States strategic goals. The second explanation is more prosaic. The President and his closest associates simply have no wish to come out against the military who, as THE WASHINGTON POST wrote recently, are not enthusiastic that the strategic offensive arms might be sharply cut soon.

In any case, there is hope that the situation will be clarified at the forthcoming meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on September 19-20. That meeting offers an opportunity to exchange opinions at a political level and to settle matters of principle that now hamper the course of the Geneva talks.

Activities of Security Monitoring Group Discussed

18070743 Moscow VEK XX I MIR in Russian
No 5, May 89 pp 47-48

[Two letters to the editor under the rubric "The Vienna Dossier": First paragraph is editorial introduction.]

[Text] The Concluding Document of the Vienna meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] invited the public "to monitor the implementation and facilitate the fulfillment of the provisions of the CSCE documents, and to join others for this purpose." This invitation was heeded. Throughout the country groups for this purpose are arising, and the initiative is turning into a movement. The Vienna Public Council of the VEK XX I MIR editorial office would like to inform readers of our journal about the activities and problems of this movement.

For Civil Peace The signing of the Vienna accords can become a turning point in the relations between the state and independent public human rights defense movements and other social movements. For the first time, independent human rights defense groups and movements are acquiring legal status in our country. The spirit of mutual hatred and civil war between society and the state, and between the authorities and defenders of human rights, is receding into the past. It is necessary to do everything so that the process of bringing our country back into the wide and open world will be accompanied by the establishment of civil peace within the country. The responsibility for this lies with both the authorities and with independent public movements.

Proceeding from this, the Democratic Perestroyka Club has adopted a resolution to organize a section of the Vienna Public Council to monitor the observance of the Vienna accords.

We invite all human rights defense groups and organizations, both official and informal, to cooperate in the noble cause of the defense of human rights.

[signed]Council of the Democratic Perestroyka Club, 14 March 1989.

Under Public Monitoring

On 15 January 1989 in Vienna, representatives of the states participating in CSCE signed the Concluding Document. The Vienna accords represent an integrated political and legal concept of new ways of all-European cooperation, including in the observance and defense of human rights and basic freedoms. Once again our country has signed a document, having the force of international law, which obligates it to respect human rights. However, for the first time, conditions are being created for the real fulfillment of the demands of the norms of international law. On 24 January of this year the CPSU Central Committee Politburo adopted a decree whioch says, in particular: "Guided by the fact that the Vienna accords entered into force from the moment of their adoption, it is recomended that the relevant ministries and agencies promptly begin their implementation."

Considering that previous international human rights agreements have to a large extent remained pious wishes for Soviet citizens, we are concerned for the fate of the Vienna accords. Public monitoring is necessary. The goal of this monitoring should be to promote in every way the efforts of the state to bring legislation and administrative practice into compliance with the principles and provisions of the Vienna agreements.

We consider it necessary to create in Leningrad a **Vienna Committee** to monitor the fulfillment of the Concluding Document. The intentions of the Vienna Committee are: to facilitate the personal participation of citizens in creating a socialist law-governed state; to inform state institutions and the broad public about violations of the principles and provisions of the Vienna accords; and to direct its efforts to strengthening trust between countries and peoples. We will support, sincerely and by all available means, the most important conceptual provision of the Vienna meeting Concluding Document—"the promotion of the development of economic, social and cultural rights, as well as of both civil and politcal rights, is of paramount importance for human dignity."

[signed] Yelena ZELINSKAYA, Nina KATERLI, Boris STRUGATSKIY, Viktor MONAKHOV, Andrey TSEKHANOVICH. 15 March 1989, Leningrad.

Gremitskikh Conducts 16 Aug News Briefing

Reviews Ties With Afghanistan

LD1608230989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1243 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Aug (TASS)—In the 70 years since the restoration of Afghanistan's independence, relations between the USSR and Afghanistan have developed within the framework of goodneighborliness and mutual respect, stated Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Information Administration of the USSR Foreign Ministry, at a briefing here today.

In connection with this occasion, which is marked on 19 August, he recalled that the Soviet Union was the first state to recognize independent Afghanistan and to establish diplomatic relations with it, and he pointed out the USSR's important role in the life of the Afghan state and in its foreign political and economic activity.

Noting that Afghanistan is marking this jubilee in conditions of continued civil war and increasing external interference, Yuriy Gremitskikh pointed out that the opponents of the Afghan government, despite desperate attempts and continuing aid and support from the United States, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia, will not achieve any notable military successes. The Armed Forces of Afghanistan confidently stand in defense of the revolution, he said. The prestige of the central authority in the international arena and in circles of the local population is growing. At the same time the armed opposition is being torn apart by internal differences.

The Soviet Union, the diplomat emphasized, recognizes its share of responsibility for seeing a peaceful end to the Afghan crisis in accordance with the policy of national reconciliation being persued by the country's government. Recalling that half a year had passed since the last Soviet soldier left the territory of the Afghan Republic, he spoke of the USSR's readiness to render all around assistance to Afghanistan in its efforts to defend its independence and its status as a nonaligned and neutral state, as well as in liquidating the destructive consequences of the years-old civil war.

Views Wallenberg Delegation Reception

LD1608133789 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—The Soviet side proceeds from the assumption that a documentary restoration of all that can be restored in connection with the fate of Raul Wallenberg will promote Soviet-Swedish relations, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry information directorate, said at a briefing here today. This will also be in line with a broad public interest in this problem displayed both in the USSR and abroad.

Gremitskikh told journalists that, guided by humane considerations, the Soviet Union expressed readiness to receive heads of the Raul Wallenberg Society and relatives of that Swedish diplomat. They will meet in Moscow with representatives of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and the State Security Committee (KGB).

Gremitskikh expressed confidence that the decision taken by the Soviet side would be regarded by the world public as another evidence of the consolidation of the policy of glasnost in the Soviet Union and its resolve to restore historic truth.

The date of the visit of Swedish representatives will be coordinated by diplomatic channels.

Notes Bessmertnykh's Talks in U.S.

LD1608134189 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—Consultations that Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, held in Washington with leaders of the U.S. Department of State these days were positively appraised in the Soviet Union, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry information directorate, told a briefing here today.

Conversations with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and assistant secretaries of state on all topics that usually come up for discussion at the talks between the two countries were substantive and meaningful, Gremitskikh said. These consultations meant a highly important step on the road to a forthcoming meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to be held in September.

Views Japan Talks, FRG Ties

LD1608154489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1343 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 16 Aug (TASS)—Consultations which Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR First deputy minister of foreign affairs held recently in Washington with leaders of the U.S. State Department were positively appraised in the Soviet Union, Yuriy Gremitskikh, the first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told a briefing here today. [passage omitted]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs representative reported that from 23 to 26 August the 12th joint conference of Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet committees on economic cooperation is to take place in Moscow. During the Conference the heads of ministries, departments and USSR foreign trade associations will discuss with 200 representatives of trade and industrial firms from Japan the prospects for bilateral economic cooperation. It was stressed at the briefing that in the opinion of

the Soviet side, the conference will promote the deepening of mutual understanding on the problems of bilateral economic ties and the expansion of mutual beneficial cooperation.

Yuriy Gremitskikh reported that within the framework of fulfilling the principle-based accord on the exchange of visits by warships, reached during the stay in the USSR of General Dieter Wellershof, inspector of the FRG Armed Forces, a visit by West German ships to Leningrad is planned for October. It is planned that the return visit by Soviet sailors is to take place next year. The Soviet diplomat expressed the opinion that the implementation of this accord will be evidence of an improvement in the military and political climate in relations between the USSR and the FRG.

Notes Accords With U.S. on Bering Sea

LD1608155989 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—A senior Soviet Foreign Ministry official has described the initialing of two intergovernmental agreements, on mutual trips by residents of the Chukchi Peninsula and Alaska and on establishing a regional commission of the Bering Strait, as one more proof of the improvement of relations between the USSR and the United States.

At today's Soviet Foreign Ministry briefing Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, informed newsmen about the Soviet-U.S talks in Washington to work out these documents.

The first agreement opens up opportunities for mutual visits by residents of the Chukchi Peninsula and Alaska and meets the interests of the people living in border areas, among whom there are many relatives and acquaintances. Another agreement, which provides for setting up a regional commission of the Bering Sea to include representatives of the local authorities, is closely linked with it. The commission will help arrange mutual visits by residents of the Chukchi Peninsula and Alaska and promptly solve all issues arising during the cross-border communication.

Upon the completion of the talks, which were held in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere, the heads of the delegations initialed the texts of the elaborated documents.

Notes Polish Government Crisis

LD1608181989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 16 Aug 89

[No video available]

[Text] The Soviet Union does not intend in the least to interfere in Poland's internal affairs, Yuriy Gremitskikh, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, said at a news conference in Moscow today.

Nonetheless, he added, the Soviet Union is vitally interested in how the situation develops in the neighboring, friendly country which is a member of the Warsaw Treaty.

Asked about the recent declaration by Lech Walesa on the creation of a government, Yuriy Gremitskikh described as sensible the statement by the Solidarity leader that one should bear in mind that Poland is a member of the Warsaw Pact and that Polish United Workers Party representatives should remain in charge of certain ministries.

TASS Reports Briefing

LD1608170189 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—A senior Soviet Foreign Ministry official said that the consultations conducted recently in Washington by Aleksandr Bessmertnykh with senior officials of the U.S. State Department were evaluated positively in the Soviet Union.

Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a news briefing here today that talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and his deputies on all areas, which are usually discussed at the talks between the two countries, were substantive. These consultations were a very important step toward the September meeting of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Baker.

The Soviet side proceeds from the premise that restoring documentarily everything which can be restored in connection with the destiny of Raoul Wallenberg would meet the interests of Soviet-Swedish relations, Gremitskikh said. He told journalists that the Soviet Union is ready to receive heads of the Raoul Wallenberg Society and the relatives of this Swedish diplomat, who will meet in Moscow with representatives of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and State Security Committee.

Gremitskikh informed those present that the Soviet-Japanese and the Japanese-Soviet committees on economic cooperation will meet for their 12th joint meeting in Moscow on August 23-26. During the meeting senior executives of Soviet ministries, agencies and foreign trade associations will discuss with 200 representatives of Japanese trade and industrial firms prospects for bilateral economic cooperation. It was stressed at the briefing that, in the opinion of the Soviet side, this meeting will help promote mutual understanding on problems of bilateral economic ties and boost mutually beneficial cooperation.

Gremitskikh said that the visit by West German ships to Leningrad was planned for October as part of implementing the agreement in principle on the exchange of visits by the two countries' warships, which was reached during the stay in the USSR of Dieter Wellershof, general inspector of the West German Armed Forces.

Soviet seamen plan to pay a return visit next year. The Soviet diplomat expressed the view that the realisation of this accord will exemplify the warming of the military-political climate in Soviet-West German relations.

Throughout the 70 years since the day of the restoration of Afghanistan's independence, relations between the USSR and Afghanistan have been developing within the framework of good neighbourliness and mutual respect, Gremitskikh said. In connection with this date, which is observed on August 19, he recalled that the Soviet Union was the first state to have recognised independent Afghanistan and established diplomatic relations with it, and pointed to the important role the USSR has to play in the life of the Afghan state, in its foreign policy and economic activity.

Gremitskikh stated the USSR's readiness to give all-round aid to Afghanistan in its efforts to defend its independence and the status of the non-aligned and neutral state, and also in overcoming the destructive consequences of the civil war of many years.

In conjunction with the anniversary of the restoration of Afghanistan's independence, Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzol, ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR, spoke at the briefing. He urged the world community to help halt the fratricidal war in his homeland and bring pressure to bear on the United States and Pakistan so that the governments of those countries honour the Geneva agreements and halt interference in his country's internal affairs. In courageously defending its independence, the Republic of Afghanistan would like to have international guarantees of neutrality and independence, Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy, ambassabor of the republic, said.

Western Businesses Urge Export Control Revisions
LD1708105589 Moscow TASS in English 0704 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Tokyo August 17 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Kuchko:

Western business circles are coming out with growing persistence for the lifting of artificial barriers to mutually-advantageous trade with socialist nations. They intend, among other steps, to secure a revision of the restrictions imposed on it by the Coordinating Committee on Export Control (COCOM). "The businessmen of leading capitalist states," the newspaper NIHON KEIZAI notes, "believe that the Cocom rules now in force contradict the current development tendencies in East-West relations."

Questions of Cocom's further functions, the newspaper reports, will be discussed at the forthcoming tripartite conference of leading commercial and economic organisations of the United States, Japan and the European Economic Community, scheduled to be held this October in one of the West European capitals. During consultations between representatives of the U.S. "businessmen's round table" and the Japan Federation of Economic Organisations (Keidanren), held at New York this July, a unanimous conclusion was reached that it was necessary to cut the list of goods covered by Cocom regulatons, to simplify formalities linked with export to socialist states. This point of view is shared also by representatives of West-European business circles. The Cocom regulations, drawn up during the cold war period, ban even the sale of "technologies that are long since an open secret," NIHON KEIZAI says. It stresses that Western businessmen will press on their governments to lift the artificially created obstacles.

The Japanese firms, coming out for the development of trade with the USSR and other socialist states, were repeatedly subjected to various sanctions for their refusal to observe Cocom's discriminatory bans. Suffice it to recall the noisy campaign launched beyond the ocean against the "Toshiba" electrotechnical corporation, which the Pentagon accused of impairing seriously U.S. security by selling metal-cutting machine-tools to Soviet partners.

Northern Countries Ministers Meet in Iceland
LD1508083189 Moscow TASS in English 0741 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Copenhagen August 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Kiselyov:

A traditional meeting of foreign ministers of northern countries opened in the city of Isafjordhur, in the northwest of Iceland, on Tuesday.

They will discuss for two days East-West relations, a number of problems connected with arms control and disarmament, as well as developments in the Middle East and southern Africa. They will also exchange views on some international problems submitted for discussion at a regular U.N. General Assembly session.

Aside from foreign ministers, the meeting is being attended by ministers of five North European countries in charge of assistance to developing countries.

United States & Canada

Bush Views Situation in Lebanon, Ties With Iran

LD1608125589 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] New York, August 16 TASS—United States President George Bush has announced U.S. support for the call for a ceasefire and withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon, as well as efforts exerted by the League of Arab states.

Asked why the United States had not yet retaliated for the death of American hostage Lieutenant-Colonel William Higgins, before his departure on vacation for Maine on Tuesday [15 August], Bush said that he still did not have enough information to take diplomatic or military action. He emphasised that if a military operation to free the hostages had been possible, he would have immediately given the go-ahead.

As for U.S.-Iranian relations, President Bush said the two countries should not necessarily remain hostile. He pointed out that a new leader had come to power in Iran and different signals were coming from there now, some of which prompted more hope. A release of the American hostages will be the clearest and most positive sign of an improvement in U.S.-Iranian relations, Bush said.

While President Bush is attempting to find a diplomatic solution, the CBS television company reported that the U.S. Coral Sea aircraft carrier is cruising in the eastern Mediterranean, off the Lebanese coast, and the America aircraft carrier is in the Persian Gulf near the Iranian coast, indicating that the U.S. has not quite ruled out a military response.

Military Action on Hostages Remains Option

PM1708135189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report from TASS, REUTER, and UPI roundup: "Bush Ready for Military Operation"]

[Text] U.S. President Bush has stated that if an efficient military operation to free the hostages were possible, he would "instantly implement it." At a short press conference he noted that the United States does not have enough information for military actions. Speaking on relations with Iran, Bush stated: "We have seen a new leader come to power there, we are getting different signals from there. The release of the U.S. hostages would be a clear and positive signal."

Iran's spiritual leader Khamene'i excluded the possibility of conducting a dialogue with the United States. He called the conditions put forward by the United States for holding talks with Iran "insulting."

U.S. Poll Shows Majority Blame Israel for Crisis

PM1608102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading: "Tension Continues"]

[Text] New York, 12 Aug—Most Americans are disappointed with the way that President Bush is trying to solve the Lebanese hostage problem and are pinning on Israel the main responsibility for the death of Lieutenant Colonel Higgins, who was kidnapped by terrorists. This is shown by the results of an opinion poll conducted by THE BOSTON GLOBE.

According to the poll, 47 percent of Americans take a negative view of the actions undertaken by the U.S. Administration within the framework of its "policy of combating terrorism"; only one-fourth of those polled approved them.

The Washington administration's inability to resolve the U.S. hostage crisis in Lebanon and the Higgins execution have made many people review their attitude to U.S. foreign policy as a whole. Only 39 percent of those polled said they were satisfied with the President's foreign policy actions, while 21 percent took a negative view of them.

Two out of three Americans condemned Israel for kidnapping Shaykh 'Ubayd in Lebanon, and two out of every three people polled believe that these actions by the Israelis were the reason for Higgins' death and the increased threat to the lives of the other U.S. hostages.

Lobov Confers With U.S. Congressmen on Force Cuts

LD1708125489 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—The delegation of the U.S. House Armed Services Committee, currently on a visit here, had a meeting today with Army General Vladimir Lobov, member of the Committee for International Affairs of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chief of staff of the Warsaw Treaty Joint Armed Forces.

The U.S. guests were informed about the Soviet Union's efforts to carry out its unilateral commitment to cut its armed forces in 1989- 1990 by 500 thousand effectives and also about the steps taken in this direction by Warsaw Treaty member states.

In a TASS interview, Les Aspin, leader of the American delegation and chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, said his contacts in the USSR with many statesmen, military and public leaders were successful. In his opinion, the dialogue between corresponding committees of the U.S. Congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet should be continued. Army General Lobov,

member of the Committee for International Affairs of the USSR Supreme Soviet, expressed the conviction that such a dialogue would be useful and fruitful.

Delegation Visits Tank Regiment

PM1708075989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[Colonel V. Bogdanovskiy telephone report: "Interesting Meeting"]

[Text] 11 Aug—The tank crewmen of the regiment of the Samaro-Ulyanovsk, Berdichev, and Zheleznaya motorized rifle division in the Carpathian Military District are accustomed to guests. But none of them had ever seen Americans in their military camp before. So news that a group of members of the U.S. House of Representatives Armed Services Committee was to visit the regiment was greeted with interest.

The U.S. Congress representatives and USSR people's deputies inspected the barracks of the battalion commanded by Major N. Kolesnichenko. They also visited the classroom building, where they observed classes' progress.

The guests also inspected the soldiers' canteen, the tearoom, and the soldiers' store. They saw the tank regiment's combat equipment and arms. Lieutenant General G. Gurin, district chief of staff, Major General L. Timin, first deputy chief of the district's Political Directorate, and Lieutenant Colonel V. Khvostenko, commander of the regiment, provided explanations.

At the end of the meeting L. Aspin, chairman of the U.S. House of Representatives Armed Services Committee, gave an interview to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA:

"It was an interesting meeting. We had an opportunity to visit a regiment of the famous Zheleznaya Division, we saw how the soldiers live and study. We got answers to all our questions. We hope that the visit of U.S. congressmen to the tank regiment will help to strength trust and mutual understanding between our peoples and armies. We hope that in January-February next year USSR people's deputies and representatives of the USSR Armed Forces will pay a return visit to the United States. We shall be equally amicable and frank."

Congressmen Complete USSR Tour

LD1708061789 Moscow TASS in English 2047 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Troitsk, Moscow Region August 17 TASS—A group of American congressmen—members of the House Committee on Armed Services led by its Chairman Les Aspin ended their tour of the USSR on Wednesday by visiting a research centre of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the city of Troitsk, the Moscow Region.

They visited the Troitsk branch of the Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy where they were shown the Tokamak experimental thermonuclear installation and the Angara-5 experimental thermonuclear inertia installation. The guests were shown a powerful laser in the process of operation.

Explanations were given by Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Defence and State Security Issues and director of the Kurchatov Institute, as well as Vyacheslav Pismenny, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, director of the Troitsk branch of the Kurchatov Institute.

Soviet scientists and specialists told their American guests about the main spheres of research and international cooperation, including with U.S. physicists. They answered numerous questions of the U.S. congressmen.

U.S. Inspectors Visit Nuclear Power Plant

18220193 Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Aug 89 p 4

[Interview by V. Pavlishin with L.Kaplan and F. Brochman, American inspectors from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, in Zaporozhye, date not given: "Inspectors from Overseas"]

[Text] A group of inspectors from the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, according to an agreement with USSR Gosatomenergonadzor [State Committee for Safety in Industry and Atomic Energy] have been studying the issue of ensuring the operational safety of the Zaporozhye AES [nuclear power plant] for almost four weeks. A TRUD correspondent met with members of the group.

"How were you received at the station?"

"We visited all the units and shops of each power set," said group leader L. Kaplan. "Our discussions with the Soviet specialists and station directors were distinguished by complete frankness. This is very important because the tasks facing us are identical: to guarantee the completely safe operation of the AES. However, an exchange of inspectors is only part of our program of cooperation in the field of nuclear power."

"How, in your opinion, is Gosatomenergonadzor fulfilling its responsibilities?"

"We have not yet made our final conclusions," inspector F. Brochman continued. "But is already clear that excellent specialists are working conscientiously at the station. I was very pleased with what one of them said to me: 'We are working so that there will never be another Chernobyl.' Of course, some of our experience can prove useful to our Soviet colleagues and we can borrow from them. The third meeting lies ahead."

AIDS Research Funding 'Alternative' to Arms Race
PM1508145189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Press Service" article: "Unite Efforts in the Struggle Against AIDS"]

[Text] The AIDS epidemic in the United States has crossed another tragic line: The number of registered cases of this illness now exceeds 100,000.

More than 60,000 Americans infected with AIDS have died so far, which is more than the number lost by the U.S. Army during the war in Korea. The AIDS epidemic is spreading rapidly in virtually every country in the world. According to WHO statistics, a new case of AIDS infection is registered every minute!

The threatening nature of the epidemic's development, the absence of effective medicines and vaccines, and the need to evolve a global strategy for combating the epidemic have helped to galvanize scientific research to create mathematical models of the epidemic and predict its long-term development.

Calculations made by Dr Colgate from the Los Angeles laboratory (in the United States) show that in 1998 1 in 10 Americans will be infected with the AIDS virus. The economic loss from the epidemic will cost the United States something in the region of $80 billion in 1991, rising to $1 trillion by the end of the decade. Similar fears are being expressed by Dr Everett Coop, a leading U.S. surgeon.

The USSR Academy of Medical Sciences N.F. Gamaleya Epidemiology and Microbiology Research Institute recently created an original mathematical model of the AIDS epidemic whose forecast is calculated through the year 2010. Scientists believe that the U.S. AIDS epidemic will most probably peak in 2006, when the number of people carrying the virus could reach several tens of millions of people. Calculations show that the probable expenditure by the U.S. administration on measures to curb the epidemic will exceed allocations for military purposes by 1995 and reach $350 billion; it will reach $1 trillion by the year 2000.

The forecast for the possibilities of AIDS infection in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union shows that in these countries, which the WHO places in the third category or so-called smallest risk group, the number of people infected with this terrible illness will be several times lower than in the United States.

The authors of the research conclude that the uncontrollable AIDS epidemic processes and the increase in the number of deaths from this illness will, in the coming years, make the U.S. Administration appreciate the need to radically review many of its financial programs in order to allocate substantial additional resources for measures to combat the epidemic, including the treatment of patients and the development of effective vaccines and medicines. The increasing of allocations to combat AIDS is therefore one alternative to the arms race, the authors of the research point out. Rechanneling resources released in the disarmament process into medical programs is now becoming a more than timely act of humanism for the millions of AIDS virus carriers doomed to die.

In this connection one cannot fail to recall the speech by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda at the Fifth International AIDS Congress, held in Canada in June this year. He appealed to the United States and the Soviet Union to stop producing nuclear weapons and use the resources thereby released to combat AIDS. This proposal found support and understanding from the more than 10,000 scientists from 87 countries taking part in this forum.

China

Li Peng Committed to Reform, Socialist Orientation
PM1608113989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "China—Pursuing a Policy of Socialism"]

[Text] "Whatever changes may take place in China, two features will remain invariable for us: the socialist orientation and the policy of reform and expansion of links with the outside world."

Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council stated this, as the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO reports today, during a meeting on Friday [11 August] with M.H.M. Matar, Sudanese ambassador to the PRC, on the occasion of the conclusion of his mission.

Upholding a socialist orientation and pursuing a policy of reform and expansion of links with the outside world are not mutually contradictory, Li Peng continued.

China is a country which is developing. The Chinese people sincerely hope to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of various countries in the world on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, the premier of the PRC State Council stated.

Tian Jiyun Heads Delegation at Cooperation Meeting
OW1608125989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 28 Jul 89

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] A Chinese Government delegation headed by Tian Jiyun, member of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau and vice premier of the Chinese State Council, returned home on 28 July. During their visit in the USSR, members of the delegation attended the 4th meeting of the Sino-Soviet Commission for Economic,

Trade, and Scientific and Technical Cooperation. After the meeting, delegations of the two countries signed a protocol on cooperation in the economic, trade, scientific, and technical areas. Attendees of the meeting hold that the meeting has laid a foundation for Soviet-Chinese economic, trade, scientific, and technical cooperation from now to the year 2000. In accordance with an agreement reached by the two sides, a long-term cooperation plan will be signed by the end of the year.

Aside from attending the meeting, members of the Chinese Government delegation headed by Comrade Tian Jiyun also visited some Soviet cities. Station reporter [name indistinct] was with the Chinese delegation all the way from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Yalta, and Moscow. His report follows:

The first city the Chinese Government delegation visited was Leningrad, the second largest city in the USSR. Listeners, I believe you know that Leningrad used to be called Petrograd, the birthplace of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Chinese visitors visited the cruiser, Avrora, one of the symbols of the October Revolution. They also visited the Smolny, where the headquarters of the revolution was located, and the Northern Shipyard, one of the largest enterprises in Leningrad. Members of the Chinese delegation toured the installation of [name indistinct], the largest in the USSR, and watched how plasma was used to cut metals. They conversed with engineers and technicians at one workshop.

Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine Republic, was the second stop of the delegation. There, the Korolev Science-Production Complex welcomed the Chinese visitors and briefed them on how the military enterprise was transformed to produce civilian goods. At the Institute of Material Research of the Ukraine Academy of Sciences, feasibilities of cooperation between Soviet and Chinese researchers in developing various types of new materials were discussed. In fact, the institute has already received from its counterpart in Harbin a letter containing some cooperation suggestions.

After visiting Kiev, the Chinese delegation members visited Yalta. This famous Soviet resort is located in the southern Crimean Peninsula on the Black Sea coast. Their primary purpose of visiting Yalta was to take a short rest. Then the delegation visited the Massandra Agricultural and Industrial Corporation.

It should be pointed out that, wherever the Chinese delegation went, it attracted the Soviet people's keen interest. Leaders of all enterprises and government organs have expressed the hope of establishing and developing ties with their Chinese counterparts.

The protocol of the 4th meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, and Scientific and Technical Cooperation signed in Moscow will serve as the basis for broadening Soviet-Chinese cooperation. Now please listen to the view of Comrade Tian Jiyun, head of the Chinese Government delegation, on this issue:

[Begin Tian Jiyun recording] I think the 4th meeting of the Soviet-Chinese commission is a very important meeting. It is also a follow-up to the summit meeting between the leaders of our two countries and the normalization of relations between the two countries. The Chinese Government attaches great attention to this meeting. During the meeting, not only will we discuss the restoration of fruitful cooperation, we will also examine current cooperation projects and discuss ways and means to broaden Sino-Soviet cooperation. I believe our talks will be a success. In addition to attending the meeting, the Chinese Government delegation will visit Leningrad, Kiev, Yalta and other places. I think the USSR visit will leave a deep impression on us. [End Tian recording]

Agreement Concluded on Border Trade With PRC

LD1608125789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] According to the journal GUOJI MAOYI, the Chinese autonomous region of Inner Mongolia last year exported goods and products totalling $240 million to 70 countries of the world. Talks between representatives of the railway administrations of the USSR, China, and Mongolia have ended in the town of Hohhot, the administrative center of this autonomous region. Our correspondent in the PRC, Albert Papayan, reports:

[Papayan] as a result of the talks the three neighboring railway departments have concluded an agreement on barter trade, that is, on a noncurrency basis, totalling over a million Swiss francs. This is the currency in which, according to the agreement, accounts between the sides are conducted. As the XINHUA agency writes, barter trade and technical and economic cooperation between China, the USSR, and the Mongolian People's Republic promote the development of mutual exchange on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and assist the growth of production and the improvement of the life of workers and employees of the three countries.

Apart from the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia, the provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, and the Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region have in recent years been actively participating in border trade with our country. A characteristic feature of border trade is that it includes goods not covered by intergovernmental agreements, but which are required by the populations of the border regions. For example, the Chinese side supplies goods of the textile and sewing industries, thermoses, soya beans, fruit, meat and meat products. The Soviet Union exports steel, cement, timber, chemical fertilizers, agricultural machinery and tools, motorcycles, and vacuum cleaners to China.

Border trade is an important channel of the expanding trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and the PRC. Great significance is attached here to the expansion of this channel, as it is seen as an effective way of increasing the export of Chinese goods to the Soviet Union and of receiving Soviet goods required by the Chinese economy. At the same time, the Chinese side believes that the integration of trade and production should be intensified by creating Soviet-Chinese cooperatives and mixed enterprises and by organizing compensation trade, leasing, and the processing of raw materials. This would result in the stepping up of trade, an increase in the quality of goods, and would create a stable foundation for long-term economic cooperation between the two countries.

PRC Friendship Societies Delegation Feted

OW1708065589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 6 Aug 89

[From the special program "Take the Road of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] A delegation of activists of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society recently visited the Soviet Union. The delegation visited Georgia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, and others republics, thereby gaining a better understanding of the life of the Soviet people and reforms in the Soviet Union. The Soviet side held a banquet for the Chinese guests before they left for home. Both the hosts and guests made brief speeches at the banquet. Today we would like to present to you the speeches made by some participants of the friendly meeting. (Sovezova), vice chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, said:

[(Sovezova) heard speaking briefly in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation by announcer] She said: I think that [words indistinct] active contacts between our two countries have yielded very good results, and I deeply believe that these contacts will yield even better results in the future. What has made me especially satisfied is that our cooperation has become increasingly specific and concrete. Contacts between us have continued and been maintained because of the exchange of visits between us. This has enabled people to hope on further development of such contacts. I think this is very important. We have many common problems that can be solved by making use of each other's experience and knowledge. (Sovezova) said: We believe that the friendship societies of our two countries can make great contributions to expanding cooperation between the two countries.

Zhang Zhen, attache of the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, also spoke at the banquet. He recalled the work of Soviet specialists in China in the 1950's. He mentioned with special interest work by Comrade Alshipov, then consultant general of Soviet specialists.

[Begin Zhang Zhen recording] In the Soviet Union, Comrade Alshipov is both a veteran revolutionary and a veteran in construction. A very important fact to Chinese people and comrades is that he is a veteran fighter in promoting Sino-Soviet friendship. I (?know) how Chinese leaders respect Comrade Alshipov. One thing that is especially important is that he has made great contributions to Chinese society and politics, and has made even greater contributions to promoting Sino-Soviet friendship. Comrade Alshipov will visit China very soon. He will lead a delegation of Soviet (?veteran specialists) to visit China. His coming visit to China will certainly receive the warm welcome of the Chinese people and leaders. [end Zhang Zhen recording]

In giving his thank-you speech, Alshipov said:

[Alshipov heard speaking briefly in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation by announcer] He said: I am very glad that I had the opportunity to work in China for 8 years, helping New China to recover its economy. Those were happy days not only to me, but also to the Soviet and Chinese people, who still remember those good old days. I also personally experienced such feelings during my visit to China in 1984 and 1985. During his recent visit to China, Soviet leader Gorbachev also specifically spoke of this in detail. Like many Soviet people, I feel happy that the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting held in Beijing recently summed up the past and opened up a new chapter of Soviet-Chinese relations. I believe that Soviet-Chinese relations will be built on the basis of friendship and wide cooperation.

Northeast Asia

Kim Il-song on Nonaligned Movement, Korean Unity

PM1508151389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "For the Unification of the Country"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 11 Aug—An interview given to the Yugoslav newspaper OSLOBODJENJE by Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee and DPRK president, has been published here. It discusses in particular the role of the Nonaligned Movement and the problem of Korean unification.

The Nonaligned Movement includes powerful anti-imperialist forces of the present day. It is a progressive movement promoting the development of human history in accordance with the modern trend toward independence, Kim Il-song noted. He considers it necessary for the forthcoming ninth conference of nonaligned heads of state and government to discuss more active measures to establish a new and fair order in the sphere of international economic relations and to implement the resolutions and programs of action on the question of South-South cooperation.

Turning to the question of the unification of the motherland, he noted: We do not think that Korean unification is a thing of the distant future. It is our people's unshakable will to put a stop to the tragedy of national division imposed by external forces, to unite the North and the South as a single country, and to strive for the nation's free development and prosperity. The most realistic and rational path of unification lies through the formation of a democratic confederated republic of Koryo, Kim Il-song stressed. This will make it possible to achieve national consolidation by taking as our basis the overall demands and interests of the nation, irrespective of ideology or system.

DPRK Envoy Holds Liberation Day Reception

PM1608114489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Embassy Reception"]

[Text] Kwon Hui-yong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR, held a reception on 14 August to mark the 44th anniversary of Korea's liberation. It was attended by V.L. Musatov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and other officials.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Receives Iran's Ambassador

PM1708112389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ambassador Received"]

[Text] On 16 August Foreign Affairs Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo received Naser Heirani-Nobari, the Iranian ambassador to the USSR, who passed on a message from President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

During the conversation, a discussion was held on the general state of affairs in various spheres of Soviet-Iranian cooperation in regard to implementing the accords attained during the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani. It was noted with satisfaction that Soviet-Iranian relations are continuing to gain the pace that allows one to speak with confidence of their stable development.

Some international and regional problems of mutual interest were also discussed.

During the exchange of views on matters concerning the situation in Afghanistan, the need was stressed to continue to seek ways leading to cessation of bloodshed in Afghanistan and ensuring stable and comprehensive peace and tranquility in the country. Eduard Shevardnadze expressed the firm conviction that there is no military solution to the problem. The development of events in Afghanistan, he said, confirms in all clarity that the way toward settling inter-Afghan contradictions lies through a political dialogue, and compromise solutions which take account of the interests of all Afghans.

Considerable attention was paid to questions related to exacerbation of the situation in and around Lebanon as a result of violent and inhumane actions leading to human deaths. The Soviet side confirmed its principled position outlined in the recent statement of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry. The Iranian side also spoke in favor of a political solution of the problems that have arisen, and in favor of showing a considered approach and patience.

Also discussed were Some aspects of the Iran-Iraq settlement regarding the search for ways to establish peace and tranquility on the basis of implementing the provisions of Resolution 59B of the UN Security Council.

'Political Bargaining' for Hostages Discussed

NC1608182489 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 15 AUG 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Political haggling continues over the fate of the hostages in Lebanon. Each side involved in this affair is trying to attain its own objectives under the guise of lobbying for the release of hostages from their incarceration by terrorists. The Israeli leadership desires nothing more nor less than the release of all the Western hostages and three Israeli soldiers arrested by the Amal and Hizballah organizations in exchange for Shaykh 'Ubayd.

It is difficult to believe that Israelis are idealistic people in view of the fact that they are using the life of Shaykh 'Ubayd as a bargaining chip far removed from principles. The Israelis' hue and cry over humanitarian motives is not to be believed, since this is the second year that the Palestinian uprising is being brutally suppressed. The Israeli commando operations were mostly intended to divert local and world attention from the situation in the occupied territories. Another aim of these operations was the escalation of repressive measures by Washington against the Arabs and the indefinite postponement of the Middle East issue. This is because the United States can play a major role in resolving the Middle East issue.

The United States is one of the parties directly involved in the hostage crisis. Let us look at the White House position. The White House is at present in the throes of a complicated and complex situation. The Bush administration is unable to remain indifferent to the execution of one of the hostages, Lieutenant-Colonel Higgins, at the hands of terrorists and to (?alleviate) the apprehension of the Americans in this regard. In addition, the Washington echelons

have realized that their compatriots' insistence on considering Tel Aviv the culprit in this calamity has created conditions of dangerous tension which render impotent any efforts for an amicable solution.

The White House is thus at an impasse. Either it should resort to its traditional gunboat diplomacy or its policy of wielding a mace in support of Israeli terrorism and clashing with Arabs or it should convince Israel to adopt a realistic attitude with regard to the hostages and to relinquish its unconditional policy of patronage of its Near Eastern ally.

We wish to be optimistic that Washington will choose the better alternative. In the era of a new political perspective, one cannot adopt a strategy merely for support of Israel based on objectives and interests. The lion's share of such objectives is unjust, as these have been tainted with indifference to the ideals of the Near and Middle Eastern nations.

Since Iranian leadership enjoys considerable credibility and influence among Lebanese Shiites, it is greatly drawn to resolving the hostage issue. There have been reports of unofficial contacts between U.S. and Iranian representatives regarding the hostage issue. Political observers believe that the Bush administration wishes to normalize relations with Iran without giving any political loans to Iran. Tehran desires to retrieve its assets frozen in U.S. banks.

In our view, the issue of hostages is above all (?a human issue). One should not permit political bargaining to hamper the resolving of this issue.

Fighting Advances Toward 'Green Line' in Lebanon

LD1608133889 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Beirut August 16 TASS—The conflicting Lebanese groupings are concentrating their forces along the entire demarcation line, which testifies to the further escalation of tension in the country. According to Beirut broadcasting stations, the Muslim opposition, backed by Syrian troops, is moving armour, artillery and men to the capital's "green line", to the area of Suq al-Gharb and to Madfun, located forty kilometers to the north of Beirut. Massing of troops has been observed in other areas too. General Michel 'Awn's Christian, so-called "military transition government" is in its turn taking measures to beat off a possible enemy offensive.

In the meantime, heavy exchanges of fire continued practically along the entire frontline last night. According to preliminary figures, Six civilians were killed and some twenty wounded. All in all, 140 men were killed and more than 500 wounded since last Thursday, [10 August] when hostilities were escalated sharply in the Lebanon.

Further intensification of military actions is reported from the northern part of the front, namely Madfun District. The Syrians lost some fifteen men killed and wounded there last Tuesday.

The French newspaper "LE MONDE" says that all the strategically important districts, giving access to the zone inhabited by Christians, have now become battlefields. Do these operations signify and attempt to stop General 'Awn's men on the eve of a new offensive on Suq al-Gharb or they are a prelude to a still broader offensive intended to show that the head of the military christian government is unable to defend all the Christian zone, the newspaper inquires.

It appears that Syrian forces and their Lebanese allies are systematically probing General 'Awn's defences, which were attacked yesterday in several spots of the front, the newspaper "LIBERATION" says in its turn. This tactic is fraught with the danger of a direct assault, let alone massive shellings which terrorize the civilian population. The Lebanese now harbour both fears of a new escalation of hostilities and hopes engendered by diplomatic efforts, primarily the forthcoming convocation of the U.N. Security Council to discuss the Lebanese issue.

The French Government has decided to "increase the French naval presence in the area of the Lebanon". The government's statement says that this measure was taken to render "assistance, in case it is requested" and to be ready to come to the rescue of French citizens in the Lebanon.

The foreign ministers of Algeria, Morocco and Saudi Arabia, who are members of the Arab League's committee of three on the Lebanon, has strongly condemned the escalation of tension in that country. The committee's published communique expressed profound concern about the recent tragic developments in the Lebanon, which have taken a toll of many human lives and caused huge destructions. The committee again urged the conflicting groups to cease fire immediately and completely. The document stresses also the lack of any "acceptable or reasonable justification" for the fighting now under way in the Lebanon.

The calls to Syria, urging it to help stop the hostilities in the Lebanon, should be addressed to the head of the military government General Michel 'Awn, who bears all the responsibility for the escalation of tension, since he insists on settling the Lebanese problem by military means, the Syrian Information Minister Muhammad Salman said in a REUTER interview. Syria, he pointed out, solidarizes with the demand of the committee of three that the hostilities should be stopped and the blockade lifted, that no further arms deliveries to the Lebanon should be allowed.

Najibullah Speaks to Afghan Rebel Commanders

LD1608112689 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul August 16 TASS—The executive committee of the Afghan Council of Ministers has met here to discuss questions of economic cooperation between the Republic

of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. It stressed that proceeding from traditional friendly relations between the two countries the Soviet Union continued to render Afghanistan large-scale assistance, to play an important role in the rehabilitation of Afghanistan's national economy. Highly assessed also was the Soviet humanitarian aid. It was noted that as many as eighteen hundred Afghan orphans were enrolled at schools in the Soviet Union during the period from 1984 to 1989.

President Najibullah had a meeting with several commanders of opposition detachments who had recently gone over to the side of the people in Ghowr and Balkh Provinces, the BAKHTAR news service reports. Addressing them, the Afghan leader stressed that the support given to the rebels by the U.S. and Pakistan was a violation of the Geneva accords and dragged out the bloodletting in Afghanistan. The extremists are planning to transfer their so-called "transition government" to Afghan territory which means turning it into a fifth province of Pakistan, he said. Najibullah again declared the Afghan Government's adherence to the course of solving the existing problems by peaceful means. The former opposition leaders assured the president of their desire to fight against the enemies of their homeland.

A 200-men opposition detachments commanded by Janth Ghol, affiliated to the "Movement of Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan," has stopped hostilities in the province of Balkh. The former anti-government combatants have formed a self-defence unit in Balkh district.

In the past 24 hours the extremists again shelled several populated localities in Nangarhar and Herat Provinces, as well as in host district. Two men were killed and seven wounded.

The Jalalabad artillery has killed some fifty rebels and knocked out an ammunition depot. Five rebels were taken prisoners, about 200 missiles and large quanitities of small arms were captured in the course of mopping up operations in Jalalabad suburbs.

According to coming in information, clashes of rival rebel detachments are continuing in Alishang and Alinghar districts of Laghman Province. Two chieftains of the "Movement of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan" were killed during an exchange of fire this Tuesday.

Najibullah Interviewed on Afghan Independence

LD1608140489 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul August 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov:

August 19 marks the 70th anniversary of the restoration of Afghanistan's independence. The date is full of meaning for the Afghan people, President Najibullah told TASS in an interview. Just like seven decades ago, the Afghan people are now fighting against the forces of imperialism and colonialism and displaying fortitude, patriotism and persistence in their striving to restore comprehensive peace in the country.

We have thoroughly prepared for the celebration of the historical date, Najibullah said.

On the president's instructions, a special commission has been set up to work out a program of events. The commission includes representatives of different political parties, public organizations and some other forces forming the basis of Afghan society. We hope, the Afghan leader said, that a wide-scale celebration of the 70th anniversary of the restoration of the country's independence will be viewed with understanding as a major political step in this and other countries and remind the world what can result from recurring mistakes of our past enemies and the wish of imperialism and reaction to force upon us a social structure alien to us.

Our enemies are expanding intervention in the affairs of a sovereign state and escalating armed aggression against the Republic of Afghanistan, seeking to destroy our independence and enslave the freedom-loving Afghan people, Najibullah said.

However, we are not alone in our struggle. At the very origin of our independence, a young Soviet state stood by, which has remained our sincere and true friend throughout the long years of the development of bilateral relations. It was the historic foresight and thinking of Vladimir Lenin and Amanullah Khan that laid the groundwork of our friendship which has been tested by seventy years of hardship and trials and reached its apogee today.

The seven decades which have passed since the restoration of Afghanistan's independence have patently shown who was and remains our friend, and who our enemy. Time will bear out the historic correctness of our political choice, President Najibullah stressed in conclusion.

Afghan Ambassador Speaks at Press Center Briefing

LD1608143489 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—Profound socio-economic transformations followed the victory of the 1978 revolution in Afghanistan. They inevitably came up against the opposition of internal and external enemies, said Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy, Afghan ambassador to the USSR. He spoke at a briefing in the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre here today on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the restoration of Afghanistan's independence.

Imperialism and regional reactionary forces unleashed an undeclared war against Afghanistan, he continued. A considerable material damage has been inflicted on the country during ten years of the war. Many Afghans were killed or injured. Seeking to put an end to bloodshed, the

People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan proclaimed a policy of national reconciliation, and the signing of the Geneva accords in March 1988 was its first result. In full conformity with them, a limited Soviet military contingent left Afghan territory. Thus, Afghanistan and the USSR fully lived up to their commitments within the framework of the Geneva accords. However, the other signatory, Pakistan, as well as the United States which is a guarantor of the accords, intensified their interference in the affairs of Afghanistan, instead of stopping it.

The striving of some Pakistani circles to create a so-called Afghan-Pakistani confederation, the ambassador continued, seriously jeopardizes the territorial integrity of the republic of Afghanistan. World imperialist forces are now supporting the Pakistani military and are encouraging them to continue the aggression against Afghanistan. Terrorist gangs to be smuggled to Afghanistan where they kill peaceful civilians are trained in Pakistan.

At present the United States is delivering new modern weapons to the rebels which kill dozens of guiltless people, including women, old people and children.

The Afghan Government spares no effort for the establishment of peace and tranquility in Afghanistan, the Afghan ambassador pointed out. It favours the convocation of an international conference on Afghanistan for the purpose of the creation of a coalition government on a broad basis with due account for the interests of all political forces of the country. We again urge the world community to promote the termination of the fratricidal war in our country and to bring pressure to bear on the U.S. and Pakistan in order to make the governments of those countries observe the Geneva accords and stop interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The Republic of Afghanistan which is courageously fighting for its independence and integrity would like to have international guarantees of its neutrality and independence.

Casualty Figures Cited for Afghan War

PM1608162089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 First Edition p 6

[Colonel V. Izgarshev article: "Afghan Pain"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] At the General Staff I asked for information about our losses in Afghanistan. Here are the figures broken down by year. They are published for the first time:

1979—86 men, including 10 officers. Combat losses were 70 and 9 respectively.
1980—1,484, including 199 officers. Combat losses were 1,229 and 170.
1981—1,298, including 189 officers. Combat losses were 1,033 and 155.
1982—1,948, including 238 officers. Combat losses were 1,623 and 215.
1983—1,446, including 210 officers. Combat losses were 1,057 and 179.
1984—2,343, including 305 officers. Combat losses were 2,060 and 285.
1985—1,868, including 273 officers. Combat losses were 1,552 and 240.
1986—1,333, including 216 officers. Combat losses were 1,068 and 198.
1987—1,215, including 212 officers. Combat losses were 1,004 and 189.
1988—759, including 117 officers. Combat losses were 639 and 106.
1989—53, including 10 officers. Combat losses were 46 and 9.

In addition, over the whole time 330 people, including 21 officers, went missing without a trace or were taken prisoner. These, according to figures, are our losses in the "Afghan" war. Not 100,000, not 70,000, as broadcasts from "over there" repeatedly claim.

The combat losses, as the reader will have noted, differ somewhat from the total irrevocable losses. The fact is that soldiers died not only in action, but also through careless handling of their weapons, they died from wounds and from illnesses. [Passage omitted]

Pakistani 'Agent' Holds Kabul News Conference

LD1708062389 Moscow TASS in English 2141 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul August 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov: Mohammad Rafiq 'Abdul Rahman, the 22-year-old Pakistani secret service agent, who was detained by Afghan security men in Nangarhar Province on July 29, spoke to local and foreign journalists at a press conference in the Afghan Foreign Ministry on Wednesday.

'Abdul Rahman said that he was recruited by Pakistani military intelligence in 1987 and served there under the guidance of a certain inspector Khaled. On June 8 the Pakistani citizen was smuggled over the Towr Kham border station into Nangarhar province with an 80-man rebel group belonging to the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan". Besides himself, there were other foreigners in the group: six military instructors from Sudan, seven citizens of Saudi Arabia and 12 citizens of Pakistan and Bangladesh.

'Abdul Rahman said that he took a direct part in combat operations on the side of rebels in Shurrud, Samarkhel and Kameh districts, spending the nights together with foreign military instructors and mercenaries at the Ghaziabad farm which is in the hands of the opposition.

The Pakistani agent told about the plans of the groups of Wahhabites to forcibly seize power in Afghanistan and about the anti-Afghan subversive activity of military advisers from some Arab countries.

USSR, India To Cooperate for Nuclear Power

PM1708081389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent O. Kitsenko dispatch: "Developing the Nuclear Power Industry"]

[Text] Delhi, 13 Aug—India is now one of the countries devoting much attention to the development of the nuclear power industry. The Narora Atomic Power Station in Uttar Pradesh State recently became the country's fourth operational nuclear power station when its first power unit, with a capacity of 235 megawatts, was commissioned.

This, and the immediate development prospects of the country's nuclear power industry, was covered in a reply to a parliamentary question presented by Minister of Science and Technology K.R. Narayanan. In addition to the four operational stations, India is now building three more nuclear power stations. The government has decided to create a few more nuclear power stations with four 235-megawatt power units and six 500-megawatt power units.

The minister dwelt in detail on Soviet-Indian cooperation in this sphere. Under an agreement signed in November 1988, two nuclear power units of 1,000 megawatts each will be built in India with assistance from the Soviet Union. Studies are currently under way on their location and the creation of the necessary infrastructure. It is planned that construction work will begin in 1992, with both power units scheduled to start generating electricity by 1999.

According to Nuclear Power Department plans, the total on-line capacity of India's nuclear power stations should reach 10,000 megawatts by the end of the century, accounting for 10 percent of the country's total power capacity.

Sub-Saharan Africa

'Possible Changes' Noted in South African Policy

PM2607153089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Igor Tarutin report: "Changes Are Possible"]

[Text] Harare, 22 Jul—Frederik De Klerk, leader of South Africa's ruling Nationalist Party and future president, has arrived in Maputo on an official visit. He had talks with Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano.

Questions of bilateral relations and regional problems were discussed. But the central place on the agenda, according to press reports, belonged to the question of ways to resolve the internal conflict in Mozambique. Pretoria is directly involved in this. Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], the antigovernment movement operating in the country, has enjoyed the open support of South Africa. This continued even after the signing of the Nkomati Treaty by the two states in 1984, under which they were to stop all activity capable of damaging each other. South Africa has claimed to be adhering to its commitments, but numerous facts testify to the reverse.

However, South Africa is now letting it be known that it is abandoning its subversive course with regard to its neighbors and is prepared to promote the stabilization of the situation in the region. In fact, this has always been stated verbally. But now for the first time it seems that words have ceased to be in such striking contrast to deeds.

It must be admitted that some changes have recently been noticeable in South Africa's actions within the region. Let me begin with Namibia, to whose liberation under the UN plan Pretoria agreed to. This does not, of course, rule out its desire to conduct the decolonization process in such a way as to protect its own interests. But the decision to grant independence, even if you regard it as a forced measure, remains a fact.

The second noticeable step was the South African regime's indirect participation in the achievement of agreement on ending the civil war in Angola. Incidentally, the path to this was opened up by a trilateral treaty signed by Havana, Luanda, and Pretoria, under which Pretoria withdrew all its troops from Angolan territory and stopped interfering in that country's internal affairs.

Lastly, early this year South Africa announced its readiness to participate in the process of normalizing the situation in Mozambique and help to end the internecine strife that has been going on there for many years. Taking into account the strong links between Pretoria and Renamo in the past, it is indeed capable, if it so wishes, to play an important part in such a settlement. So progress is in sight.

The changes have been noted in independent Africa too. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who holds the post of chairman of the grouping of "front-line" states, has stated that dialogue is possible with Pretoria if it "observes its commitments in the region." He announced the other day that he is ready for an official meeting with De Klerk.

Naturally, the development of events in this part of the globe will be influenced not only by Pretoria's foreign policy, but to a much greater extent by its domestic policy. After all, the main obstacle to the normalization of its relations with its neighbors is the preservation of the apartheid system.

Nonetheless it is clear that a fundamentally new situation is taking shape in the region. The processes of general detente on the planet, the transition from confrontation to the quest for mutually acceptable compromises, and the renunciation of strong-arm decisions in favor of political decisions—that is, the establishment of the new thinking—are influencing southern Africa too.

Commentary Assesses Prospects for De Klerk
MB1708094589 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] Last week's row in the South African government has culminated in 73-year-old President Pieter Botha's resignation. From today until 6 September the National Party leader, Mr F.W. De Klerk, will be acting president. Two years ago in parliament Pieter Botha said he was trying by all means to be a man of peace, but if his patience was tried too far, he could hit back ruthlessly. In his 11 years in power his patience has obviously been tried many times, and he has certainly not shown himself to be a patient man, but a ruthless one. His rigidity and his confrontation with his cabinet caused a government crisis that ended his political career.

The problem is not that he was or was not consulted on De Klerk's planned visit to President Kaunda of Zambia. He himself said in a television address that he was resigning because his cabinet no longer took him seriously, and this can only have been a result of his own untoward attitudes. There are various opinions on his resignation from the presidency. Liberal whites say they think this was brought on by a split in thinking within the ruling party. Then again Pieter Botha never really considered De Klerk to be a worthy successor.

Professor (Robert Schrider) of the University of Cape Town says Pieter Botha resented the fact that De Klerk is portrayed as more reformist than himself. Frederick van zyl Slabbert, a renounced figure and former leader of the opposition Progressive Federal Party, states that Pieter Botha stands out from his predecessors in his attempts to move away from apartheid, but it is still unclear how he would have wanted South Africa to develop in the future. He wanted to be in control of everything to the very last, so that now it is not easy to say to what degree De Klerk's plans are more democratic and progressive than those of the former leader, and whether they will lead to a more peaceful South Africa. Defense Minister Magnus Malan, before Pieter Botha's resignation, warned against watching relations within the party worsening progressively. With elections just around the corner, it is obvious that the ruling party is trying to patch cracks in the party's membership.

It is obvious that De Klerk's progressive reform program is welcome within the country. The idea of De Klerk becoming the country's president raises questions for the radical left, the West, and the extreme right. Will his program of action prove better than Botha's, and is it likely to gain the support of the prevailing state security machinery in the country? The ruling party is planning to win the September election and has sacrificed much to this end.

Ghanaian Delegation Visits USSR 1-14 Aug
PM1608114289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the Provisional National Defense Council of Ghana, a delegation from the council was in the Soviet Union 1-14 August to study the CPSU's activity in the sphere of economic and social development in the conditions of perestroyka.

The delegation was received at the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department and the CPSU Central Committee International Department, had talks and meetings in party and soviet organs in Belorussia and Moscow Oblast, and visited industrial and agricultural enterprises.

East Europe

CSSR Economic, Social Problems Viewed
18070739 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Report on interview with Rudolf Hegenbart, chief of the State Administration Department, CPCZ Central Committee, by NOVOSTI correspondent V. Fedorov: "In the Heart of Europe, Or Why Czechoslovakia Needs Perestroyka"; in Prague, date not specified]

[Text]**At IZVESTIYA's request, NOVOSTI correspondent V. Fedorov met at the editorial offices of the magazine SIGNAL, one of Czechoslovakia's major weeklies, with Rudolf Hegenbart, chief of the CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] Central Committee's State Administration Department. The large clock on the old tower at Prague Central Station marked the time of the conversation. The thought arose involuntarily that we are indeed in the very center...in the heart of Europe.**

[Hegenbart] Yes, yes, people frequently say of our country that it is the "heart of Europe." The paths of European politics, longitude and latitude, began to cross one another here since ancient times. Today the peculiarities of the geographic situation are underscored by other realities: After all, our borders became lines of contact of states with differing social systems. At the foundation of relations with Western partners lies Czechoslovakia's sincere interest in transforming Europe into a continent of enduring peace and cooperation, in creating here a zone of trust and good neighborly relations, and in building a "common European home."

I seem to recall that during World War II, then president Benes called Czechoslovakia a bridge between West and East. I bring up that utterance not in order to defend it, but to complete the picture. And in general I think it is always useful to look back a bit if we want to view contemporary life soberly and truthfully. Of course, the answers to current questions cannot be found in history, yet we may draw many lessons from history.

[Fedorov] And what do you see, looking back?

[Hegenbart] Frankly speaking, I see a country which just one-quarter of a century ago belonged among the 10 most developed countries of Europe, if this is based on generally accepted indices. It does not occupy such a position today.

[Fedorov] But no one coming here would encounter chronically empty store shelves and would not say that there is a low standard of living here.

[Hegenbart] Of course it is impossible not to see that since February 1948 we have covered a path marked by successes. We have managed to do a great deal and we are proud of this. But today it is already impossible to live off of the achievements of the past.

We are troubled by the declining level of our participation in world trade. While in 1970 it was 1.21 percent, in 1987 it was already 0.93 percent. Such a fact can only make us prick up our ears. Czechoslovakia has practically no iron ore of its own, while at the same time it holds first place in world steel production. And it is hardly normal that our industry consumes an enormous amount of energy. Or that the most disparate branches work to fill up warehouses, while even now the volume of reserves created is at the level of the entire annual national income. At the same time, the output of the progressive, modern products we need so much is taking place slowly.

Let us add environmental pollution to the picture. We produce about 35 metric tons of solid waste per capita. The "flow from man to nature" in the CSSR is nearly 10 times more intensive than the world average. Current farming methods have had such a pernicious effect on the state of the environment that they could undermine the defensive and life-giving forces of nature itself, to say nothing of man. Nearly 32 percent of our population lives in ecologically unclean regions, the likes of which are not to be found in any other country. Of course, we ourselves are guilty here. However, we cannot forget that the other industrial centers of Europe—for example, the GDR, Poland, and the FRG—also do their share to spoil things. Although, for the sake of objectivity, I must say that they may declare the same thing about us. After all, we live in the same "European home."

Over one-third of Czechoslovakia's forest area has been damaged. As the result of wide-scale and frequently unjustified construction and extraction of mineral resources, the area of arable land has declined by 12 percent since 1948. Now there is 0.3 hectares of tilled land per resident, one of the lowest indices in Europe.

And Prague itself; a precious gem in the necklace of European cities. We recently allocated enormous resources for the renovation of its historic center. We are also building new residential areas where we want to create the harmony of man and nature without the smoke and smog. However, the atmospheric sulfur dioxide levels in the capital are slightly lower than those in the industrial centers of the Northern Czech Lands. And the concentration of certain other harmful substances is even higher.

It is sad that in average life expectancy we have lately turned up at the bottom rung of the European ladder.

Thus, to return to our question, it can be said that the country's standard of living today is in a state of stagnation. And if we also add to this the manifestation of human and societal alienation taking place here, then it seems to us that society's general condition is not what we would like to see, and not what it could be under socialism.

We recently began to acknowledge for the first time that in addition to low labor morale, negative phenomena are spreading, such as aggressive behavior among youth, "hazing" of students and in the army, and drug addiction. For precisely this reason, we cannot go on without perestroyka not only in the economic, but in the political field.

[Fedorov] Do you feel that perestroyka in Czechoslovakia is called upon to solve the same problems that we have?

[Hegenbart] The same problems? But that's impossible. The Soviet Union is one of the largest world powers; our state, even by European standards, is among the medium states at best. Yours is a multinational state with a complex path of people's cultural and historical development behind it. It is sufficient to cite the differences between the Baltic republics and Central Asia. In this sense we are more homogeneous in many ways.

Prerevolutionary Russia was among the most backward countries in the system of world capitalism. At the same time a significant portion of the mighty economic potential of Austro-Hungary was located on our territory. Your revolution was victorious in 1917; our Victorious February came only 31 years later.

Here democratic institutions, even if they were bourgeois in their foundation, existed legally back in the years of the monarchy; they have their history and traditions. This was why it was possible to implement the February socialist revolution by peaceful, constitutional means.

In a word, the historical development of each of our countries is characterized by distinctive features; this is also manifested in the singularity of the problems we have.

[Fedorov] But all the same, logic would dictate that there must be some similarity in the problems. For example, we just spoke about the ecology. The reasons for the appearance of this problem are probably not very different.

[Hegenbart] You are correct. There are similar features. First and foremost, the ideologically based, so-call "iron concept" of our development made its effects known here, the creation of a powerful metallurgical industry in a country already having a sufficiently well-developed industrial base. In the final analysis, it led to the difficulties previously mentioned.

You frequently speak of the errors of the previous administrative-bureaucratic system and everything associated with it and inherited from it. We can also speak of such shortcomings in our society. A cumbersome system of government has also been created here; various clans and criminal groups tried to exploit it; a shadow economy and protectionism appeared. Structures which had nothing to do with socialism, at least theoretically, gradually began to emerge. Words frequently did not correspond to actions, and this was becoming the grounds generating public disappointment.

There is one conclusion to be drawn from what has been said: If we cannot bring perestroyka to Czechoslovak society, we will be in a deep historical crisis. This is very dangerous.

[Fedorov] Do you have in mind a crisis such as the one that occurred in the late sixties?

[Hegenbart] I don't like the prophecy of gloom—all the more so because things never happen the same way twice. Each historical situation in a concrete time and place is unrepeatable and cannot mechanically be compared to that which took place at some time in the past. And later, development itself may sometimes take an unexpected turn and yield results the likes of which no one had considered at the outset.

Although, on the other hand, the basic regularities are always in effect. It is, after all, a fact that economic problems lead to political instability, and vice versa, an erroneous policy brings with it economic chaos. We still have in effect a model of extensive development, the roots of which go back to the fifties. But conditions were completely different then. You will recall: In that period, Czechoslovakia was one of the few industrially developed countries in the socialist camp. Together with the USSR it made a great contribution to the rapid industrialization of the entire system. Thus, we had to press for quantity without thinking about quality. In contrast to the prewar period, our economy no longer felt the stimulating effects of competition. At the same time, the "Cold War," with its limits and embargoes, forced our industry to create its own new branches, at times without taking our limited opportunities into consideration.

Nor should it be forgotten that like other young countries of socialism, in some things Czechoslovakia mechanically copied the the Soviet Union, frequently and unjustifiably disregarding its own traditions and experience.

In addition I will allow myself to assert that there was a lack of creative political and economic thinking at that time, especially in our society's leadership. You are now analyzing your past and are fleshing out your history with real people and facts. I think you will agree with me that we also had similar phenomena and facts. In the process of perestroyka you are struggling with the legacy of the past. We too must gain an understanding of this legacy, smelted in the specifics of the Czechoslovak circumstances. This is not simple, and it will still be very difficult. However I want to be understood correctly here as well: We have no intention of deviating from the fundamental goals of building socialism.

[Fedorov] In your view, what will be the most difficult thing here?

[Hegenbart] Attracting people to our side and understanding their interests, hopes, and dreams. Not herding people in an anonymous throng, incapable of influencing the course of events, but rather trying to become imbued with the interests and desires of every citizen. After all, in effect the success of perestroyka depends upon the will of our people. People must have space to manifest their capabilities; such opportunities will be taken into account with the expansion of democratization of our public life and the implementation of profound political reform. Then everyone will be able to discover himself, and will see what he is worth. Then successful cadre rotation may also be possible. It seems that this will allow our country's enormous potential to be utilized to the fullest.

I base my discourse upon the decisions of the December (1987) CPCZ Central Committee Plenum, which set a course toward perestroyka. Many here think this way—CPCZ members, members of other parties, nonparty members, and youth. I see in this the hope for us to once again become one of the highly developed countries of Europe if we overcome within ourselves the high hurdles of complacency, ossification, and dilettantism. The fate of perestroyka depends upon this as well as upon the level of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation in science, technology, culture, and production. We have no alternative.

CSSR Roundtable Discusses New Constitution

PM1708093589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Aug 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Guarantees for Democracy. New CSSR Constitution Elaborated"]

[Text] Prague, 15 Aug—The drafting of the new CSSR fundamental law has entered its deciding phase. RUDE PRAVO reports that its text should be submitted for nationwide discussion by the end of the year.

The new constitution is to play a real role in the life of the country and society and in protecting each citizen's rights and interests, the newspaper writes. It has published materials from a "roundtable" whose participants directly dealt with the drafting of the new constitution. In the "roundtable" discussion eminent legal scholars and politicians drew attention to the fact that the present constitution, adopted in 1960, is based on ideas which have subsequently not been confirmed by life—specifically, the concept that the state and law will fade away. Moreover, back in October 1968 the law on the Czechoslovak federation stated the need to elaborate and adopt a new CSSR Constitution.

The draft new constitution will emphasize more accurately the definition of the Communist Party's leading role in society and the role of the National Front, and at the same time sufficient scope will be provided for activities by social organizations.

Now the most adequate expression of the thesis that "All power belongs to the people" will have to be found, and the role of the single political force—the Communist Party—will have to be formulated. It was Lenin who stressed that the party cannot supplant the activities of the soviets and other state organs. Within the framework of its legal policy the Communist Party should, for instance, define the main avenues of the development of our state system and legal order, but not be involved in directly approving paragraphs of laws. The enshrining in the constitution of the Communist Party's leading role should be seen above all as a commitment for it to ensure the utmost participation by the people in running society. It is this that is the sole yardstick and criterion for the Communist Party's leading role. The party as the leading force in society will not be above the constitution or above the law. And this should help even more to ensure that the constitution and the laws are carried out, the "roundtable" participants stressed.

The principles of a socialist rule-of-law state should be reflected during the drafting of the new constitution. This is a further difference between it and the country's previous fundamental law. For instance, the new constitution will redefine citizens' rights and duties. It is a question of increasing guarantees for personal and political rights. Our task, the lawyers noted, is to preserve, strengthen, and improve the new socialist quality in this sphere, above all, social rights. Each citizen's right to certain minimum housing conditions will be reinforced.

Walesa Cited on Forming Polish Government

LD1708064289 Moscow TASS in English 0529 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 17 TASS—The Civil Parliamentary Club (CPC) called a meeting at the building of [words indistinct] Wednesday evening with the participation of representatives of the deputy clubs of the United Peasants Party (UPP) and of the Democratic Party (DP). The meeting discussed a proposal by Lech Walesa, chairman of the Solidarity trade union, to form a government of national responsibility.

Addressing the meeting, Walesa explained his proposal, noting that the emerging coalition is not spearheaded against anybody [words indistinct] Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), but against the PUWP's monopoly. The aim of the new coalition is to change Poland, he noted. Walesa pointed out that he proceeds now not from the premise that he would take the post of the cabinet head. His aim is to help bring reformist forces to the government, which should face squarely the challenge of times. He called on meeting participants to form a coalition for the sake of responsibility for the country.

A statement taken by CPC deputies and senators expresses opinion that a parliamentary coalition of the UPP, DP and CPC is able to form a government of national responsibility under Walesa's leadership, which could represent all political forces determined to act for the sake of political and economic reforms. CPC Chairman Bronislaw Geremek told journalists that no decision has been taken yet who will lead the future government.

Cardinal Glemp, USSR Envoy Discuss Graves Incident

LD1608135389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Aug (TASS)—On 16 August Cardinal J. Glemp, primate of the Catholic Church in Poland, received V.I. Brovikov, USSR ambassador to the Polish People's Republic.

During the conversation that took place the primate expressed a feeling of bitterness and indignation in connection with the defiling of the graves of Soviet soldiers in Sopot. He noted that this act wounds the feelings of Poles whose belief obliges them to regard those who have perished with sacred respect.

GDR Encourages Citizens To Leave FRG Embassy

PM1708080189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

["IZVESTIYA Press Service" report: "FRG Embassy in Hungary Closed to Visitors"]

[Excerpts] The FRG has now decided to close its embassy in Budapest to visitors, as it is overcrowded with GDR citizens who want to leave for the West. [Passage omitted]

Meanwhile in Berlin, 15 people who had been in the FRG permanent mission building left it Sunday. There are still 116 men, women, and children on the premises who want to emigrate. The GDR authorities had previously announced that citizens who return home voluntarily need fear no reprisals.

West Europe

Yazov Arrives in Finland for Official Visit

Talks Open After Ceremony

LD1608222489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Army General Yazov, USSR Minister of Defense, has arrived in Finland today [16 August] for an official visit.

[Correspondent E. Anuplyd] The Soviet guest and the officers accompanying him were met at the Vantaa airport by Ole, Norrback, minister of defense of Finland and by the representatives of the supreme command headquarters of the Defense Forces of Finland.

Our countries are close neighbors. A high degree of trust has been reached, broad cooperation in the economy and culture is developing and the military sphere is not an exception in this respect, although it has its own specific character. The Finnish Defense Minister Norrback has visited our country on more than one occasion, the contacts between the airmen of the Karelian aviation detachment of the Finnish Air Force and the aviation unit from Kubinka near Moscow have become traditional. The Finnish airmen are flying our MiGs, the Finnish Army uses our armored vehicles and other combat [ognevaya] equipment.

The ceremony of the official meeting of the high Soviet guest took place at the parade ground of the Ministry of Defense in the center of Helsinki with all the military honors laid for occasions like this.

Afterwards, the talks in the Ministry opened. Taking part from the Finnish side were Minister Norrback, General Valtanen, Commander-in-chief of the Finnish Defense Forces and Vice-Admiral Klenberg, chief of the general staff [as heard, Klenberg listed as commander of the Defense Forces of Finland].

The purpose of the visit is to further deepen the contacts between the armed forces of the two friendly states in the spirit of the new political thinking, the new military doctrine of our country with taking into account positive changes in the European continent and in the world as a whole.

At the Hietaniemi cemetery, the USSR minister of defense, laid wreaths at the graves of Juho Kusti Paasikivi and Urho Kekkonen, the outstanding political leaders of Finland, and paid homage to their special role in the strengthening of the Soviet-Finnish cooperation and goodneighborliness. The visit of the USSR minister of defense to Finland continues.

Gives Troop Numbers Near Finnish Border

LD1708143589 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1300 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Soviet Defense Minister Army General Dmitriy Yazov, has for the first time given the numbers of troops near the Finnish border to the Finnish defense authorities. Yazov said today that he has given an exact report on the troops to Defense Minister Ole Norrback. Yazov did not publicly disclose the number of troops. Kalle-Ville Lahtinen reports:

[Lahtinen] The number of Soviet troops next to the Finnish border has been an interesting puzzle to the Finns. Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov has now elucidated the matter to the Finnish Defense Forces. He said that the total number of Soviet troops near the border is smaller than the entire Finnish Defense Forces. In numbers this means that there are less than 27,000 men, which is the average peace time force of the Finnish Army. Did Yazov, on the other hand, mean the Finnish Army counting the reservists, that is 500,000 men? That did not become clear in the slow and solemn press conference today. It was also left open what the phrase, near the border, means exactly. Units which are easily movable can, without any worries, be further away.

In the same connection Yazov emphasized that the Soviet Union will never threaten Finland. The new defense policy doctrine, that is, the new way of thinking of the Soviet Union, makes a distinction from the former doctrine. Yazov said that the defense principle is the main thought in the new way of thinking. Yazov's statement includes the thought that there has been a time—which is now being left behind—when attack has been part of the defense thinking of the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Meets With Finnish Counterpart

LD1608134489 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Helsinki August 16 TASS—Army-General Dmitriy Yazov, defence minister of the USSR, called today on Ola Norrback, defence minister of Finland, and on Commander-in-chief of the Finnish Defence forces General Jakko Valtanen. Problems of mutual concern were discussed.

The Soviet defence minister laid wreaths on the graves of presidents Juho Kusti Paasikivi and Urho Kekkonen on Hietaniemi cemetery.

Honored at Helsinki Dinner

LD1608210589 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Helsinki August 17 TASS—Ola Norrback gave a dinner in honour of the Soviet defence minister. At the dinner, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, Norrback and Army General Dmitriy Yazov exchanged speeches.

Yazov Observes UK Army Life During July Visit

PM1608115989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent Colonel V. Markushin article under the rubric "Follow-Up to Reports": "On the Other Side of the Channel"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A Soviet military delegation headed by Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister, visited Britain in late July. Our special correspondent, whose reports we published, accompanied the delegation on this trip. We offer readers some of his observations and impressions.

A group of local and foreign journalists, including two Soviet journalists, had gathered at a military airfield in the London suburbs to fly to the British airbase at Leuchars in Scotland. The preparations were amazingly easy and unconstrained, as if we were getting ready to commute in to work on a works bus. All the time it clearly seemed as though something was missing. Then it struck me: There was not a single high-ranking officer at the airfield. Actually, there wasn't a single officer at all. It was a highly unusual situation for our military life. How can they manage without "responsible people"? Who would be reprimanded in the event of a blunder: What were you doing there? The document checks and the other preflight formalities were handled by a sergeant and two men. They handled the operation knowledgeably and without any fuss.

This independence and organization among the "lower ranks" was something I noticed on a number of occasions during our short visit to the British Isles. It is probably the source of the order which greeted our compatriot in this country. And not only in this country.

The Leuchars Airbase, where the military delegation from the Soviet Union was shown the latest combat hardware, was as well looked after as any art show exhibit. But there was no suspicion that the outward face of the base was just as much for show as the Tornados, Harriers, Phantoms, and so forth. We were probably seeing the everyday order. An order that disciplines people constantly, just as the mirror-like purity of the Hermitage prevents certain visitors from behaving badly outside the confines of their clean apartment.

How should we react to the firm order of the British? The impression is that people here do not find the constant maintenance of this order stressful. Everything seems to happen by itself. I am talking about working people, those who work in gleaming offices or construction sites, not the colorful and motley crew who mooch about central London.

But are the tough Army routines and discipline not off-putting to the British recruits who plan to make a career out of the armed forces? I put this question to General C. Huxtable, commander of the UK Land Forces. No, they are not put off, the general replied. A young man joining the Army realizes that he will only become a professional through hard work and effort. His main enemy is boredom. We fight boredom mercilessly.

The general's words are somewhat propagandistic, of course. They have something in common with the short film on the "Red Devils"—a special group of commandos—shot to popularize the military profession among young Britons. Yet nonetheless our acquaintanceship with the organization of the training process at the Aldershot airborne assault troops training center and our lively discussions with British servicemen on the whole reaffirmed the sincerity of the claims that the process of training young soldiers who have signed up is painless. Needless to say, a considerable role in this is played by the soldiers' material supply system. Suffice it to say that British soldiers earn more than workers.

As to boredom, the fight against it is waged following all the rules of science. Above all, this includes great physical pressure, numerous exercises with elements of risk, and psychological training under conditions approximating combat. All this with emphasis on group operations, which strengthens the corporate spirit. The pressure on young soldiers builds up gradually so as not to discourage them from continuing their service from the very first day they arrive in the Army. There is a so-called "collective platoon" in which the worst trainees are brought up to scratch within a certain period.

Moreover, a games element is actively introduced into the training process, which forces the men to concentrate, pull out all the stops, and be creative. The "war games" at the indoor rifle range are outwardly wholly reminiscent of a real war. A large hemispheric screen and sound and light effects imitate an attack by tanks, whose roaring motors and clanking tracks seem to be real as they approach the soldiers taking part in the exercise. And the tanks can be halted or turned back—just as the exercise controller pleases.

At the Sandhurst ground forces college, which was also visited by members of the Soviet military delegation, computers and video, lighting, and other equipment have been extensively introduced into the training process. VCR's, for instance, are used to sum up the results of exercises, when students can assess their own actions themselves, listen to their own speech at a seminar, devote attention to the things preventing them from developing the proper way of behaving, and so forth.

Hardly anyone could doubt the value of such an approach to training. After all, it naturally forces people to adopt a serious attitude to specific exercises, training as a whole, and their profession in general.

One more observation. The nature of the attitude taken to their profession by British servicemen themselves also affects the population's attitude to the Army. The British would not even dream of subjecting their own Armed

Forces to any kind of attacks or of being less than complimentary about them. This aspect of social behavior seems unconnected with prevailing conditions. Yes, one driver told me, the threat of war has diminished recently, but this has not affected the Army's prestige. If there is a state there should also be a corresponding army.

Some people may smile skeptically. We know what the writer's driving at, they will say. And they are right. When it comes to the Army, does not our fatherland sometimes give in too easily to the latest fads or rashly apply poorly conceived arguments which promote unhealthy feelings?

During our visit aboard the aircraft carrier "Invincible," which we joined by helicopter from the Hebrides, I had a chance to talk with the shop's commander, Captain M. Gretton [name as transliterated]. Our talk was quite brief, but I can still remember my impression of this officer. He is a highly educated, affable, and witty man far removed from the standardized image of an "arrogant and haughty representative of the bulwark of ruling circles in the armed forces." Although people like Gretton are indeed the bulwark, the backbone, the elite. They ensure the intensive rhythm of the functioning of the military machine, which in no way winds down as the political climate eases. They do this not because they do not see or comprehend the changes taking place, but because they have been taught from childhood that the Army exists to be ready to fight.

What is the attitude of British servicemen to disarmament? We met none who would bluntly and unambiguously state that they oppose it. They do not reject the idea in principle. However, they talk about it as something highly abstract, far removed from everyday life and, of course, from the Army. One is struck by the fact that both students and admirals think the same thing about security problems. The former think that the priority of force in safeguarding peace in Europe is indisputable. The latter think that there is a general bloc line which Britain must unswervingly follow.

So disciplined behavior goes hand in hand with "disciplined" thinking—evidence of the purposefulness of the work of the propaganda apparatus and the entire training and education system. The "British distrust of theory" is well-known. It seems to make itself felt in this area.

Incidentally, we should not carp. After all, we have our own historic experience with regard to "monolithic ideology." Let us attempt to get a better look at the future of Soviet-British relations, not least at military level. Here, keeping our feet on the ground, we can claim that the prerequisites for better mutual understanding do exist. This was shown by Britons' sincere interest in the Soviet Union's position on disarmament issues, which the Soviet military delegation devoted a considerable amount of its trip to explaining.

Bessmertnykh, French Special Envoy Discuss Lebanon

LD1608203789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Aug (TASS)—Soviet-French consultations took place here 15-16 August in connection with the crisis situation in Lebanon. With that aim Jacques Andreani, special representative of the French president and assistant secretary to the French foreign minister, who was received by Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, arrived in Moscow.

There was an in-depth discussion of the situation in and surrounding Lebanon and possible ways of promoting a settlement of the Lebanese crisis in accordance with the 6 July 1989 joint statement of Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand. The importance was noted, in particular, of resuming the activity of the Arab League's Tripartite Committee, first and foremost to achieve an urgent cease-fire. The sides advocated giving the committee more active and coordinated international support. In this connection the hope was expressed that the call contained in the 15 August statement by the UN Security Council chairman will be appropriately received by all the Lebanese groups and will serve as an additional stimulus to the Arab countries' efforts to unblock the Lebanese situation.

Accord was reached on continuing Soviet-French consultations on the subject of Lebanon and on making them more regular.

Latin America & Caribbean

Honduran Army Units Move Against Contras

LD1608113689 Moscow TASS in English 1124 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Managua August 16 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov:

The Honduran Army units have surrounded Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries' camps in Honduras. According to information received here, the Honduran authorities have resorted to this measure in order to prevent the contras from moving into Honduran hinterlands. The point is that most of the contras do not wish to continue hostilities against the Sandinist government and are eager to abandon their positions on the border with Nicaragua.

According to the Honduran newspaper "EL TIEMPO", many of the contra commanders expressed their desire to disarm their men in keeping with the demobilisation plan approved by Central American presidents and to surrender their arms to members of the special U.N. and Organisation of American States' ad hoc commission to control the demobilisation of anti-Sandinist groups.

They have already considered the possibility of repatriation or settlement in third countries. The majority of the rank-and-file contras, "EL TIEMPO" says, are in accord with such a decision.

The Government of Honduras fears that the contras may settle down in different areas of Honduras. The Honduran President Jose Azcona Hoyo has already expressed his government's unbending decision to demobilise the contras and expel them from the country.

Moreover, it has become known that statements of "Nicaraguan resistance" leaders, entrenched in Miami, declaring the contras' intention to continue hostilities against the Sandinist government in Nicaraguan territory, have aroused keen resentment within the ranks of the armed counter-revolution. This is explained by the fact that the contra leaders, who are now in the United States, have asked for political asylum there and do not intend to head the armed counter-revolutionary struggle in Nicaraguan territory. "We feel abandoned to our own fate," the press quotes some rank-and-file contras. "The commanders want to pull chestnuts out of the fire with our hands".

It has been announced here that more than forty contras laid down arms during the past three days in the Nicaraguan Departments of Chontales, Matagalpa, Jinotega, and accepted the government's amnesty. They have been issued special documents for free movement throughout the country and allowed to return to their native places.

Ortega Calls for Reconciliation in Nicaragua

LD1608103289 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Managua August 16 TASS—President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has called upon all Nicaraguans involved in counter-revolutionary armed activity to lay down their arms and return to a peaceful life. In an emotional appeal to the people, broadcast live by all the radio stations of the country from the Jinotega region, Ortega declared that the people and the Government of Nicaragua extend a hand and offer a pardon to all who will renounce the criminal war.

The people of Nicaragua will not seek revenge against those who were drawn into mercenary gangs by force or deception, he said. All Nicaraguans divided by the war must unite and work for the peace and prosperity of the nation. Peace committees have already been set up with the aim of establishing contact with contras operating in Nicaragua and helping them return to peaceful life, Ortega recalled.

At the same time Ortega stated that retribution awaited those who intend to return to Nicaragua from Honduras with a view to continuing the fratricidal war. The government is not going to give them new chances and there will be no reconciliation. Ortega blasted the unpatriotic activity of the right-wing opposition forces favouring further struggle against the Sandinista Government and opposing contra demobilization.

Mercenary contra gangs have been wiped out, the president pointed out. The aggressive policy of the United States turned into a fiasco. The Nicaraguan people have defended their revolution in heroic battles. All this explains why the Central American governments agreed to sign a peace agreement with Nicaragua in August 1987. All this explains why at a recent Central American summit in the Honduran city of Tela an agreement was signed on the demobilization of contra gangs based in Honduras. Daniel Ortega called upon the U.S. Administration to support the decision of the Central American states.

The president described the Honduran agreements of the Central American presidents and the agreement between the Nicaraguan Government and the opposition parties, signed in early August, as historic. The Sandinista Government, he said, is strictly abiding by these agreements which give the Nicaraguan people a chance to attain peace. He said that the government of the republic, on August 15, acting within the framework of implementing the Honduran agreements, requested the International Court of Justice in the Hague to suspend sanctions against Honduras, which were earlier requested by Nicaragua in connection with the use of that country's territory by mercenary formations for aggression against Nicaragua.

Ortega stated that for purposes of national reconciliation, the government ordered the release of Nicaraguans imprisoned for involvement in counter-revolutionary activities. He read out a decree on releasing 29 peasants serving terms for taking part in joint actions with the contras. The president said that there are 7,717 prisoners in Nicaragua at present. Of these, 39 are former members of the Somoza guards, 1,515 peasants who took part in counter-revolutionary activities, 5,328 criminals and 235 former servicemen of the Sandinista army and Ministry of the Interior sentenced to imprisonment by a military tribunal. At the same time, the president stressed, not a single Somoza man was executed after the victory of the revolution. Moreover, more than 1,800 Somoza guards were released from prison a few months ago.

Levchenko Criticizes U.S. Exercises in Panama

PY1708024289 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 16 Aug 89

[By Leonid Levchenko]

[Text] In my opinion, the latest U.S. exercise in Panama resemble a preplanned, open provocation. This is what is happening. News agencies have reported that for the first time since the beginning of the U.S.-Panamanian crisis, U.S. troops have operated in downtown Panama City

with U.S. military helicopter support. The U.S. military men behaved badly, as if they were not in a sovereign country but in their own house in Texas or some other state.

But that's not all. Shortly before the beginning of the exercise, the U.S. Embassy announced that the U.S. vehicles, ships, and planes could operate freely in Panama's territory, waters, and airspace. U.S. Embassy spokesman Terrence Kneebone said that U.S. military exercises will be continued in order to train troops to defend the canal in case of a surprise attack and to defend the lives of U.S. citizens in Panama.

It is interesting to note that the U.S. press has depicted the situation as if Panama were to blame for the tension in bilateral relations and as if the Panamanian defense forces were permanently provoking the U.S. Southern Command, which is headquartered in the canal zone. This is what Panama's foreign minister told reporters upon his return from a UN Security Council meeting convened at his country's request. We provided films to the UN Security Council that show many U.S. Army violations of the canal accords, the minister said.

It has been learned that many people in the United States do not believe that the military maneuvers have been approved by Panama. A TASS report datelined Mexico notes that the Popular Socialist Party has condemned the provocative U.S. military maneuvers in Panama.

CPSU Delegation Leaves for Guyana 12 Aug

PM1608101989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Departs"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation comprising V.V. Ryabov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, and D.D. Muravyev, senior consultant [referent] in the CPSU Central Committee International Department, left Moscow for Georgetown 12 August.

The CPSU delegation will take part in the work of the Eighth Congress of the Guyanese People's National Congress Party.

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets 16 Aug

LD1608122689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1119 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Aug (TASS)—A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, chaired by A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was held in the Kremlin today.

The question of holding the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet was examined. It was decided to convene the second (fall) session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 25 September this year. It was also acknowledged as expedient that the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the standing commissions of the chambers should begin work on 18 September. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree concerning the convening of the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will be published in the press.

In accordance with the report by USSR Minister of Justice V.F. Yakovlev, the question of the incompatibility of certain provisions of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] law "Concerning the Introduction of Changes and Supplements to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Estonian SSR" and of the Estonian SSR's law "On Elections to Local Soviets of Estonian SSR's People's Deputies" with the Constitution of the USSR was examined.

The session was addressed by: A.F. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium; G.S. Tarazevich, chairman of the Standing Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet in charge of Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations; V.I. Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.I. Tsybukh, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on Youth Affairs; R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet; E.Y. Vilkas, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities' Commission in charge of Questions of Social and Economic Development of the Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Oblasts, and Okrugs; V.K. Foteyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee in charge of Questions of Glasnost, Citizens' Rights, and Appeals; S.S. Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Legislature, Legality, and law and order; B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Construction and Architecture; V.G. Kucherenko, chairman of the Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission of the Soviet of the Union; and Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was adopted on this question and will be published in the press.

In accordance with the 4 August 1989 decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning "resolute intensification of the struggle against crime," the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium approved the composition of a temporary committee in charge of combatting crime in the USSR. Its members are the USSR's people's deputies, those in charge of law and order protection bodies of the USSR, prominent scientists, and representatives of the public.

According to a report by A.D. Vasilyev, first deputy USSR procurator general, the question of granting immunity from criminal proceedings to the former servicemen of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan who became prisoners or who went over to the side of the Afghan military opposition has been examined. A detailed report on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session will be published.

TASS Views Session

LD1608193189 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—Today's sitting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet chaired by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, discussed the disparity between the USSR Constitution and some provisions of the laws of the Soviet republic of Estonia "On amendments to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the republic of Estonia" and "on elections to local soviets of people's deputies of the republic of Estonia". These laws passed by the Estonian Supreme Soviet on August 8 restrict the electoral rights of part of Estonia's population through introducing a residence requirement.

Venyamin Yakovlev, Soviet minister of justice who spoke at the sitting, pointed out that the decisions of the Estonian Supreme Soviet restrict the electoral right of the republic's citizens by the term of their residence. They should live for no less than two years on the territory of a definite soviet, or no less than five years in Estonia. Only citizens of the republic who have lived for no less than five years on the territory of the Soviet, or a total of 10 years in Estonia can stand for election to people's deputies.

He proved with the help of documents the incompatibility between those provisions and articles of the USSR Constitution which guarantee equality of all the citizens of the Soviet Union. He said that acts passed by the Estonian Supreme Soviet introduced the notion of residence requirement, previously unknown in Soviet constitutional and legal practices. They run counter to the international covenant on civil and political rights to which the Soviet Union is a signatory. Consequently, he continued, there are legal grounds for stating that the acts are at variance with the Soviet and international law, with the spirit of the democratisation of our society and the principles of revolutionary perestroyka.

Arnold Ryuytel, president of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, explained at the sitting the reasons why the republican lawmakers had adopted those acts. Specifically, he linked it with the need to ensure greater competence of elected bodies in local affairs.

Concluding the exchange of views at the sitting, Lukyanov pointed out that ways of overcoming the worsening of inter-ethnic relations were inseparably connected with the consolidation of the Soviet Socialist Federation. The Soviet federal system should be consolidated, in the first place, through filling with real content the sovereign rights of union republics, though overcoming the existing deformities and excessive centralisation, through the most meticulous taking into consideration of interests, of historic, cultural and other characteristic features of each nation, through the consolidation of guarantees of the equality of citizens of all nationalities living in each republic. It is on this basis that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be consolidated and its most important functions will be developed without which a strong modern socialist state practically cannot exist. This is our party's stand, a platform of its nationalities policy which we are going to discuss at the coming plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist party Central Committee, he stressed.

According to the strike committee, some 80,000 citizens of the republic of Estonia will be put in an unequal position with respect to other citizens of the republic, Lukyanov said. He pointed out in this connection that the Soviet Constitution and its provisions demanding equal rights to citizens and the equality of citizens before the law should be observed without fail. In this sphere the priority of the union law over the republican law which is recorded in Article 74 of the USSR Constitution should be followed strictly and unswervingly. The USSR Constitution is in force, and it should be observed.

Lukyanov suggested the problem be considered not only from legal positions, but also from broader political positions: from the viewpoint of guaranteeing the implementation and consolidation of the principles of Soviet federation and strengthening the mainstays of socialist social system.

The principles of Soviet federation are above all the equality of rights and duties of a person of any nationality all over the USSR territory, the more so since equality of citizens stems not only from the essence of the Soviet system, but also from international obligations assumed by the USSR. And equality of citizens of any nationality before law will always remain a matter of importance to the whole country. All republics and their federation are equally interested in it, Lukyanov said. Involved in this are not relations of a republic with Moscow or the USSR, as it is sometimes asserted. It is above all a matter of relations of each republic with other equal republics that form the Soviet Union.

Presenting the Soviet Union only as Moscow, as an extremely centralised force opposing republics, is used quite often in far from good purposes, for whipping up passions, lessening confidence for the central authorities, belittling what Soviet federation gave to every people, every nation and nationality.

The Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state have been and will remain the expressors of the will of the working class and the entire working people, of their democratic ideology and internationalist principles. Nobody should have any doubts about this, Lukyanov said.

He noted that novelties in the legislation about the elections of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic affected also servicemen, their representation in the soviets. The Soviet people is not interested in keeping collectives of the military apart from the participation in the country's political life. The support and qualitative upgrading of the Soviet Army, its perfection as a school of internationalism and patriotism—such are the tasks that the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state put to the country's Armed Forces. We shall never abandon this stand, Lukyanov emphasized.

"So amendments of the legislation on elections adopted in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic are unacceptable to us not only juridically, but also politically", Lukyanov said. "They lead to the aggravation of interethnic and social relations, to the aggravation which precisely has a negative effect on the solution of complex tasts put forward by perestroyka".

It was taken into notice that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic will submit for the consideration of the republic's Supreme Soviet before October 1, 1989, the question of bringing the afore-mentioned norms in the Constitution and laws of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic in accordance with the Constitution of the USSR.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet also adopted a decree which confirmed the statement made on behalf of the Soviet leadership that the rights of all Soviet servicemen who were taken prisoner in Afghanistan and returned home will not be infringed in any way, that they will be able to use in full volume civil rights envisaged by the Constitution of the USSR and that, proceeding from supreme considerations of socialist humanism, the Soviet state will show mercy to those of them who committed illegal actions. These persons will not be brought to criminal responsibility for crimes committed.

The draft resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the amnesty of former servicemen of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan who committed

crimes and were taken prisoner by the Afghan armed opposition" has been endorsed. The draft resolution is referred for the consideration of a regular session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Estonian Laws Declared Unconstitutional

PM1708111789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree: On the Nonaccordance with the USSR Constitution of Some Clauses of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Law 'On Introduction of Amendments and Additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)' and the Estonian SSR Law 'On Elections to Local Soviets of People's Deputies in the Estonian SSR'"—signed by President Mikhail Gorbachev at the Kremlin on 16 August]

On the basis of Point 5 of Article 119 of the USSR Constitution, which places on the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet control over the observance of the USSR Constitution and ensuring that the constitutions and laws of the union republics accord with the Constitution and laws of the USSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium notes that some clauses of the Laws of the Estonian SSR of 8 August 1989 "On the introduction of amendments and additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Estonian SSR," and "On the election of local soviets of people's deputies of the Estonian SSR," establishing a residential qualification for participation in elections and for election to soviets of people's deputies, as well as restrictions on the participation of servicemen in elections, do not accord with the USSR Constitution.

The aforementioned norms of the laws of the Estonian SSR also violate human rights enshrined in international legal acts that have been ratified by the USSR, including the international pact on civil and political rights, which provides that every citizen must, without discrimination or unfounded restrictions, have the right and opportunity to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections held on the basis of universal and equal suffrage with secret ballots and ensuring the free expression of the will of the electorate.

In connection with what has been set forth, and being guided by Articles 74 and 76 of the USSR Constitution, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To declare Part 1 of Article 3 and Part 1 of Article 4 of the Law of the Estonian SSR of 8 August 1989 "On the introduction of amendments and additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Estonian SSR," Parts 1 and 3 of Article 2 and Article 8 of the Law of the Estonian SSR "On election of local soviets of people's deputies of the Estonian SSR" of 8 August 1989 to be not in accordance with the USSR Constitution and the USSR'S commitments under international law.

2. To take note of the fact that the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet will before 1 October 1989 submit for consideration by the republic's Supreme Soviet the question of bringing the aforementioned norms of the laws of the Estonian SSR into accordance with the USSR Constitution and the international legal acts that have been ratified by the USSR.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Moscow, the Kremlin, 16 August 1989

Yakovlev on Estonian Electoral Laws

LD1708041589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1747 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Speech by USSR Justice Minister Vaniamin Fedorovich Yakovlev at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session at the Kremlin on 16 August; with introduction by session chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov—recorded relay]

[Text] [Announcer] At the beginning, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium considered a draft decree on the convening of the second and autumn session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It was decided that the commissions and committees will commence work on 18 September and that chambers will assemble for a joint session on 25 September.

[Lukyanov] Now, for the second item on our agenda. It is connected with the latest decisions that have been adopted by the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet and is connected with the fact that particular points in these decisions run counter to the USSR Constitution. This has given rise to tension in the republic and to strikes, which have unfortunately not yet been cleared up. A group of USSR people's deputies led by Comrade Tarazevich, chairman of our Commission on Interethnic Relations, traveled to the republic. Comrade Tarazevich is present here today and will evidently be giving us an account.

Beforehand we should evidently hear, so to speak, the conclusions of the experts in this matter. The floor is therefore given to Comrade Vaniamin Fedorovich Yakovlev, USSR Minster of Justice.

[Yakovlev] Esteemed chairman, esteemed members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, esteemed comrades! The reaction, about which Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov was speaking, was brought about by several provisions in two laws adopted on 8 August by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet: Articles 3 and 4 of the law "On Making Alterations and Additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Estonian SSR" and, Articles 2 and 8 of the law of the Estonian SSR "On Elections to Local Soviets of People's Deputies."

In Article 2 of the first of these laws—"On Making Alterations and Additions to the Constitution"—the following is stated: The elections of people's deputies are universal. Citizens of the Estonian SSR who have

reached the age of 18 and have resided for the legally stipulated time in the territory of the soviet of people's deputies being elected or in the Estonian SSR have the right to vote and to be elected. Article 4 of the same law was adopted with the following wording: The Communist Party of Estonia, trade unions, cooperative organizations, the Leninist Komsomol of Estonia, associations of women, war and labor veterans and scientific workers, creative unions, work collectives, and also public organizations and public movements that have been registered as duly stipulated by law, as well as the electoral unions and assemblies formed by them of voters according to their place of residence and of voters who have united together by way of public initiative for the nomination of candidate deputies are entitled to nominate candidate deputies.

Article 2 of the law of the elections to local soviets of people's deputies contains two points that have caused a reaction. They are points 1 and 3. Point 1 says the following: Citizens of the Estonian SSR who have reached the age of 18 and have resided in the territory of the soviet of people's deputies being elected not less than the last 2 years or in the Estonian SSR for an overall total of 5 years have the right to vote. Point 3 of this article says: Every citizen of the Estonian SSR who has reached the age of 18 and who have resided in the territory of the soviet people's deputies being elected not less than the last 5 years or in the Estonian SSR for an overall total of 10 years can stand for election as a people's deputy. Finally, I would draw your attention to Article 8 of the same law on the particpation in elections of servicemen residing in the territory of military units. Servicemen and members of their families residing in the territory of military units may elect one people's deputy for membership of the soviet of people's deputies of the rayon or town of republican subordination in the Estonian SSR in the territory of which they reside, if within an electoral constituency formed in the military units and if there is a sufficient number of voters for its formation. It is precisely these provisions that I have just quoted in full that have caused this fairly turbulent response from the people and the mass media. What, then, is the matter? If one compares these provisions with the corresponding articles of the USSR Constitution, we can see the following. First, it is possible to verify that they do not accord with certain articles of the Constitution and, second, this nonaccordance entails restrictions on suffrage; in other words, with infringements of rights or, one might say even more specifically, the deprivation of a certain section of the Estonian SSR's population of one of the most important rights—suffrage! If the elections to local soviets in this republic are conducted in accordance with these legislative acts, a considerable section of the population will not participate in the elections—that is, will be deprived of active suffrage—and will not have the right to stand for election as deputies to the local soviets. This is to say they will be deprived of their electoral right.

The provisions cited run counter to and do not accord with the following points of the USSR Constitution. First, Article 34 of the Constitution, which enshrines the following provision: USSR citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of their origin, social or property status, race and nationality, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, type and character of activities, place of residence, and other circumstances. The equality of rights of USSR citizens is ensured in all spheres including the economic, political and social spheres, and cultural life.

Further, we observe how the quoted legal provisions do not accord with Article 48 of the USSR Constitution—devoted to one of the basic political rights of USSR citizens—which says the following: USSR citizens are entitled to take part in the running of state and public affairs and the discussion and adoption of laws and decisions of statewide and local importance. This right is ensured by the opportunity to vote and to be elected to the soviets of people's deputies and other elective state bodies. Well, I will not cite the other provisions of this article, since they do not apply directly to the issue under discussion.

We must also compare the provisions that I cited from the laws adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet with Articles 95 and 96 of the Constitution. Article 95 says: Elections of people's deputies are conducted for single-candidate or multiple-candidate electoral constituencies on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot. Article 96 in its first part says: The elections of people's deputies for electoral constituencies are universal. Further on there is a clarification of this provision: The right to vote belongs to USSR citizens who have reached the age of 18. A USSR citizen who has reached the age of 18 may be elected as a people's deputy. The final part of the article specifies a list of those persons who do not take part in elections. I draw your attention particularly to the final part of Article 96: Those not able to take part in elections are those mentally ill citizens who have been declared to be incapable by a court and persons who are being kept at a place of deprivation of liberty or who have been sent by decisions of a court to places of compulsory treatment. You thus can see that our Constitution does not contain any legislative provisions that would permit the removal from participation in elections at the level of active or passive suffrage of citizens who have attained the age of 18 years, irrespective of certain, so to speak, indicators, except for persons who were specified and cited in the final part of Article 96.

These legal provisions about which we are speaking are introducing a new notion that is, I would say, unknown in our constitutional and legal practice—a residence qualification. There has not been and is no such qualification in our legislation. It is precisely by means of this qualification that a certain section of the republic's population is being removed from participation in elections.

I think that we ought to pay attention to the circumstance that the cited provisions run counter, of course, to the Pact on Civil and Political Rights, to which the

Soviet Union belongs. Permit me to cite two provisions from this pact. Article 2 says: Each state taking part in the present pact undertakes to respect and ensure the rights acknowledged in the present pact for all those persons situated within the borders of its territory and under its jurisdiction without any distinction as regards race, color of skin, sex, religion, political or other convictions, national or social origin, property status, birth, or any other circumstance.

Article 25 of the pact says: Every citizen must have the right and opportunity, without any discrimination as mentioned in Article 2 and without unjustified restrictions, to vote and be elected at periodic genuine elections held on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, by secret ballot, and ensuring the free expression of the will of the electorate. I would also like to draw your attention, comrades—in connection with the question under discussion—to Article 39 of the Constitution. Article 39 of the Constitution enshrines an important constitutional provision: the dynamism of the rights of Soviet citizens. The rights of Soviet citizens are in a dynamic state. This dynamic must proceed in one direction, that of developing and not restricting existing rights: development and not restriction.

Let us read the text of the article, Article 39, together: USSR Citizens enjoy the full plenitude of social, economic, political and personal rights and freedoms, as proclaimed and guaranteed in the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws. The socialist system provides for the extension of rights and freedoms and the continuous improvement of citizens' living conditions as programs of social, economic, and cultural development are fulfilled. In this instance, we can also observe a dynamic. Unfortunately, it is a dynamic, so to speak, in the wrong direction. It is in the reverse direction, I would say. This is particularly regrettable because, after all, you know it is difficult to even imagine the position of a person who yesterday had the vote, and today does not have it and cannot take part in elections. You will realize that if the citizen had not enjoyed this right he may not have felt its absence. When he does have it, however, he knows, and when he is deprived of it today, it becomes clear, of course, why this sort of decision is altogether quite unacceptable.

I would also like to draw your attention to the fact that in international practice we do, of course, come across certain things of this sort, that is, certain voting qualifications. Earlier we encountered voting qualifications based on property—I have in mind the bourgeois world—property or education. But under the influence of public opinion all these voting qualifications in capitalist countries were lifted. Only certain restrictions remain that impose residence qualifications, but they remain in a small number of countries. That is the first point. Second, these restrictions are minimal in their scope, and the tendency throughout the whole world is that these voting qualifications do not stand up to the criticism of public opinion and are simply collapsing and being abolished. I can give some illustrations on this point. In Norway, for instance, there was a residence qualification. It was abolished in 1980. Danish, Swedish, British, Irish, Italian, and Dutch legislation does not have residence qualifications. In certain countries they do remain, but, I repeat, in minimal form. For instance, it is 3 months in the FRG, Switzerland and Japan. Even that is, so to speak, pretty much a residue of something earlier. In the United States, federal legislation does not have a voting qualification like this. In certain states, restrictions of this sort do exist, but the qualification involves a period of 10-30 days. Thus, it is purely symbolic in nature. This, strictly speaking, is the situation. Of course for this reason I think that the decisions that were adopted somehow sound a discordant note in the context of these general processes.

Finally, I think that we are of course bound, as always in such cases, to turn to Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, which indicates to us that USSR laws have equal force on the territory of all the union republics. In the event of a divergence between a law of a union republic and an all-union law, the USSR law is the one that prevails. We thus have every legal ground to state that the provisons I listed here—I will not waste your time by repeating them again—are of course out of step with the articles of the USSR Constitution that I mentioned.

[Lukyanov] Are there any questions for Comrade Yakovlev? Go ahead.

[Unidentified speaker] How many [word indistinct] citizens are going to be deprived of the right to vote and will lose the right to be elected?

[Yakovlev] I do not have the exact figures, but tens of thousands of people are involved, tens of thousands.

[Unidentified speaker] Why is the Russian-speaking population affected, the Russian-speaking population.

[Yakovlev] No, it is not necessarily so at all. What? No, no. Why? Any citizen who has lived in Estonia for less than a specified period of time is affected—any citizen, of course. But it is quite clear that if you approach this from the standpoint of real life, so to speak, then yes, this probably affects in greater measure the non-Estonian speaking population, I would say.

Ryuytel Describes Estonian Electorate

LD1608234789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1820 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Remarks by Arnold Fedorovich Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at a session of the presidum in the Kremlin on 16 August—recorded]

[Text] Well, in fact I do not know how many military servicemen are stationed in Estonia. But I would say that all servicemen take part in elections—but on the conditions I have already described. As for how many people

they elect... well, it is very difficult to establish the number of electors, but as before, perhaps they number ten thousand in this respect, or maybe fifteen or twenty thousand—somehwere around this figure. It is very difficult to establish this with absolute precision. There are on average three million electors—I am speaking in rounded figures. Well, is there anything else?

[Voice from the floor] So, what is the structure of the population?

[Ryuytel] Oh yes, as to the population, and also about the deputy structure, it does not change the structure practically in any measure, nor does it affect who, from the point of view of nationality, can become deputies. It has practically no effect on this process. Generally, this is the goal. I will tell you that the Russian-speaking population, as I have already said, is intermingled with mixed collectives. Four hundred fifty thousand of them and more work at enterprises with mixed collectives. And it has no effect there whatsoever. The structure of the population as a whole is this: 60 percent indigenous and 40 percent Russian-speaking. I will cite the example of the Supreme Soviet—there is a total of 285 deputy seats in our Supreme Soviet at present. One hundred of them are taken by Russian speaking deputies at present. The same ratio will probably exist in the future.

[Yeltsin] I have two questions. First, do you agree with the draft decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet? Second, if the Presidium agrees to the context which you proposed and which you discussed with Comrade Lukyanov, are you sure that you will then be able to cope with the situation and to implement these decisions?

[Voice from the floor] Within what time span?

[Ryuytel] Well, I will now answer. I think that what Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov and I talked about beforehand is a very realistic option, and I see no alternative to this whatsoever, taking into account the complexity of the political situation in the republic. We must do what I have proposed. We will soon draft a law on elections to the Supreme Soviet. So, in the course of discussing it we will try to do everything to omit the question of the elector's qualification. [words indistinct] And in the course of discussing it we will try to carry out serious political explanatory work with everyone comprehensively. Then while discussing it at the Supreme Soviet, we will juxtapose this provision with that on elections to local soviets. If we simply do not use the phrase "to abolish" and other similar words, I think this would be useful for us in the sense that it would enable us to carry out the explanatory work more acceptably with the Estonian public, and would create preconditions for rapprochement between these two differing sides, movements, etc.

[Lukyanov] What about the deadline?

[Ryuytel] As to the deadline, we are planning our next Supreme Soviet during the final days of September or during the first days of October. Very little time is left. So, more realistically, it will be held during the first half of October. So, perhaps, it would be possible to write down this deadline. We could then realistically meet this deadline.

Tarazevich on Meeting With Strikers

LD1608224489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1833 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Speech by Georgiy Stanislavovich Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, at a session of the presidium in the Kremlin on 16 August—recorded]

[Text] Respected comrades, I really have just arrived, but our commission has only just flown out there as well. That is, we flew out there yesterday morning at the request of the republic's leadership and of the strike committee. I was commissioned to head this group of four deputies. Well, the previous reports were fully devoted to the essence of the conflict and its legal aspect. I will perhaps dwell somewhat more on the human and national aspect.

Yesterday we met the republic's leaders, naturally, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. We met the leadership of the strike committee, a narrow circle of the leadership, and there was a sufficiently positive conversation. Then, the conversation with the strike committee continued with more than a hundred people present.

Well, what should I say? That the arguments by the comrades and the questions we were asked were sufficiently well-founded, sufficiently well-argued. Why is the Constitution being violated? Why does the USSR Supreme Soviet not intervene in these processes which are violating the constitutional norms in the life of our society? Why are human rights being violated? And why are these violations of rights not prevented? It is rather difficult to answer these questions, and it is rather difficult to conduct a conversation, explanations, and so on.

We also met representatives from the Council of Labor Collectives yesterday. These labor collectives are not taking part in the strikes and are on the whole headed by Estonian leaders. This was a group of more than ten people. We listened to their view of this conflict. It must be said that the situation is alarming for the Estonian population as well. From their side somewhat different evaluations are being expressed in comparison to those expressed by the strikers. The Estonian population is alarmed by the fact that a fitting evaluation is not being given to the strikes, above all in our central press.

Above all, the Supreme Soviet of the Union, when it considered the law on strikes when it postponed it for further consideration and approval, made an appeal that strikes be stopped for the period up to the adoption of this law. Unfortunately, in the case at hand, this

Supreme Soviet appeal will not halt the strikes. Some Estonian labor collectives did not, let us say, react properly to the above appeal. Thus, the situation is very, very complex. The situation is explosive.

I think that the primary cause for the situation is that a normal, constructive dialogue did not exist between the leadership at all levels, including the leadership of the republic, and the separate public organizations which have formed only recently, the labor collectives, and also that group of labor collectives which later formed the strike committee, even during the discussion of the draft of this law. The Russian-speaking population says frankly that it did not have sufficient input into the preparation of this draft. Their opinions were not sufficiently consulted in relation to the draft law, and so on.

Obviously, the political situation was not taken into account. There was not sufficient political work among the people. For this reason I think that the main thing today, the most important thing, is the continuation of a conversation, the continuation of a constructive dialogue with different groups of the population, both between groups of the population and with the leadership at different levels. There is nothing of the sort today, despite the fact that the first secretary of the Central Committee met strikers 2 days ago, despite the fact that some meetings or other occur periodically, including those of the USSR people's deputies which have already been mentioned. All the same, today no normal dialogue, no dialogue which would lead to mutual understanding, to trust between people, exists. We think that our main task, I mean the task of the group of deputies, is to help both the conflicting sides and the leadership to get out of this tight spot and onto the route of dialogue, onto the route of comparing opinions, onto the route of mutual compromises. This is the only way; there are no others. But the situation is very, very complex. We will do everything to help our comrades get out of this tight spot.

Vorotnikov on Estonian Articles

LD1708002189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1841 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Speech by Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov at the session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium in the Kremlin on 16 August—recorded]

[Text] In the first place, it seems to me that the Supreme Soviet Presidium of our country did a very correct thing in convening a session today to examine that question, that situation which has arisen in connection with the adoption of the known laws in Estonia. I believe that the importance of the question under discussion is very great and principled. Therefore, obviously the approach to the discussion and the solution which we will adopt must be both principled and well-considered.

It is natural in the conditions of perestroyka when the process of the development of democratization and glasnost is under way in our country, when the Soviet people's political activity is sharply increasing, that there is openness, directness, and the possibility of freely expressing one's opinion. All that, so to speak, is the spiritual gift of perestroyka. Therefore, all the processes developing in our society, in the spheres of economy and politics, or the spiritual sphere, in my opinion, naturally should develop in that direction, in the further expansion of the processes of democratization.

So, when you approach those articles of the law adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], which sets a residential qualification, from these positions then it is inarguably a form of restriction of democracy. It is not a step forward but a step back. Both from the judicial viewpoint, on which Comrade Yakovlev spoke rather conclusively, and I think also from the political viewpoint, these norms do not ease the political situation but complicate the political situation in our country, difficulties about which Arnold Fedorovich spoke here. I believe that, of course, one must not link the democratization of society with this norm.

So the reaction to this law, not only in Estonia but also in other regions of the country and outside the country too, is negative and unfavorable. In some it is giving rise to bewilderment, in others to protest and indignation. Moreover, such a trend has possibilities for growing. Therefore, it really is essential now to discuss this question and to adopt the relevant decisions. How is it possible, one wonders, to keep a citizen of the Soviet Union for years without the right to vote, that is, essentially to remove him from participation in the political process which is gathering momentum in our country? By what right? Who does that benefit?

When one begins to examine the practical situation which arises in this connection it is very difficult to find an explanation for a whole number of situations. A great many examples of this could be given. For instance, in our work quite often the representative of one republic is sent to another to work and, within the limits of one field, from one factory to another. Young specialists on graduating from higher educational institutions are sent to work in Estonia. Even such a fact—I would say a mundane one, as when someone gets married and takes up his place of residence of Estonia. For instance, recently I read in a newspaper—I took pleasure in seeing such a young couple—that Beloglasova, the world (?calisthenics) champion, married a good Estonian lad. They are now living temporarily in Finland where he is working as a trainer. Tomorrow, they come to Estonia, and what then? That means they will not have the right to vote or to be elected? Many such examples could be cited to which it is very difficult to give an answer and an explanation to specific people as to why they have found themselves in such a situation on the territory of the Soviet Union.

I believe that here army subunits are also encroached upon to a certain extent. One wonders: By what is such a

decision dictated? What lies at the root, so to speak, of this? What fears does the situation evoke in the Supreme Soviet, in the leadership of the Republic, for such a decision to be taken?

Arnold Fedorovich Ryuytel said that the political situation really is complex. The transition to financial autonomy—the Russian-speaking population is anxious about how this transition will take place. Will it not infringe upon them? Well, other aspects were stressed. Other aspects were stressed regarding the complexity of the situation in the republic. There is anxiety. In these conditions, however, one cannot help drawing the conclusion that it is precisely in such a situation that such steps, which aggravate that political tension and anxiety, are all the more inexplicable. There is talk that a very small category of people will be affected by this norm. He named the figures of 15,000-20,000 voters out of a million. Such estimates as 60,000-80,000 are also possible. That is, it would seem to be supposedly a small figure, so that why should one speak out against it? If that is the case, that norm is all the more incomprehensible.

Why is it being introduced, why are restrictions being introduced and why is there fear that, so to speak, some kind of unknown people might get through into the composition of the electoral bodies if their proportion is so insignificant? That is, that says that these must not be adopted, and all the more so if it embraces a small part of the population. In my view, that militates against adopting this norm. That is, to call a spade a spade, after all is said and done, the fact is then not of the relaxation but of the (?growing complexity) of tension between nationalities, since the qualification really does generally concern persons not of native nationality. Therefore, I think that both the Supreme Soviet and the republican party leadership should very seriously think over this question and adopt a decision that would respond to that process of perestroyka and democratization, which is happening in our country.

Nevertheless, I think that the line of the republican leadership is regarded very hazily, as if were. I do not know what the alternative version is, which Comrade Ryuytel spoke of here. He did not say specifically what that compromise, that consensus is expressed in, what kind of, so to speak, norms are envisioned there, beyond which landmarks one may go in that case.

However, as far as I know, the position of some leaders of the republic consists in the fact that they have arrived at that indicator, not simply under the influence of the political situation, not under pressure of some forces or other, but out of conviction. They are namely convinced that such a norm is not only justified but is also essential. I must say that such a thesis sets one very much on one's guard. That is why it seemed to me that we must recommend the leadership primarily to adopt a principled and firm stance in this regard because we have enough grounds for rocking the process of perestroyka. We have in the country and in every republic many problems—economic and political difficulties. I do not think it fits the purpose, I do not think (?that it is inappropriate) to accumulate them, to increase them further, to create such an uncomfortable situation.

In conclusion, I would like to call upon the leadership of the republic and the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium to hold a dialogue, to seek, so to speak, a solution to the situation which has arisen so that the decisions adopted conform to our Constitution, so that human rights are respected and so that those international norms and agreements adopted by us and of which we are participants are respected.

Lukyanov Warns of Discord

LD1608214889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, chaired by Comrade Lukyanov, was held in the Kremlin today.

[Correspondent A. Krutov] The Presidium adopted a decision to convene the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 25 September, and the Supreme Soviet committees and the standing commissions of the chambers will begin work as of 18 September.

The Presidium also examined the question of relieving of criminal responsibility former military servicemen of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan who were captured or who transferred to the side of the Afghan opposition.

The Presidium members focussed their main attention on the question of the nonaccordance of certain points of the recently adopted laws in Estonia with the USSR Constitution. Speaking on this question, Comrade Lukyanov said:

[Begin Lukyanov recording] It is not difficult to imagine what would happen if each republic now started to somehow restrict on its territory the rights of citizens of a nonindigenous ethnic group. Where would this lead? It seems to me that this would clearly be a pretext for universal discord in the country, in our federation. That is why the protection of the principles, equality of rights, and equality of the citizens of any ethnic group before the law, before the constitution, remains an all-union matter. [end recording] [video shows Presidium in session, chaired by Lukyanov, and Lukyanov speaking]

Estonian Officials on Presidium Decision

LD1608162989 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1500 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The Supreme Soviet Presidium considers that the Estonian election law partly conflicts with the constitution and demands that the Estonian Supreme Soviet

should take up the matter again. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium held its meeting today. However, the decision of the Presidium will be reported only later. Hannu Vilpponen reports from Moscow:

[Vilpponen] [passage omitted] A little while ago I managed to telephone Almann, secretary of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium, who was at the meeting. He said that the Presidium stated that some points in the new Estonian election law conflict with the Soviet Constitution and that the Presidium suggest to the Estonian Supreme Soviet that it take up the matter again. Thus the Presidium did not officially return the law, and it is up to the Estonian Supreme Soviet whether it will take up the matter again or whether it keeps the decision valid. Almann did not predict what the Estonians will do in the future. He said, however, that sooner or later this sort of law will be valid in Estonia because it is in accordance with international practice of justice. [passage omitted]

Estonian Premier Indrek Toome said in a direct broadcast on Estonian radio this afternoon that the strike is political and that it concerns not only the election law or the language law. The striking Russians want a separate administrative area in northern Estonia with Tallinn as its capital where they can decide about their affairs themselves without the Estonians. According to Toome, consensus or mutual understanding with (?demands) such as these is impossible. He said that the strikers have supporters at a high level in Moscow and the matter is not only about Estonia, but more widely about the wole reform policy of the Soviet Union and the direction it is taking. Toome said that he also discussed the matter with Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov who, according to Toome, is not a supporter of the strikers in Estonia. [passage omitted]

Presidium Approves Afghan Amnesty Decree

LD1708112189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1954 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] The Presidium today approved the draft decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet on amnesty for former servicemen from the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan who have committed crimes and found themselves in captivity. The draft will be submitted for discussion by the forthcoming session of the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet Presidium confirmed the statement made on behalf of the Soviet leadership in July 1988 to the effect that the servicemen who have returned home from captivity and foreign countries would enjoy all the political, social, and other rights of Soviet citizens stipulated by the USSR Constitution. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium addressed the leaders and the public of foreign countries with an appeal to aid former Soviet POW's who were taken prisoner while serving in Afghanistan in returning home.

Supreme Soviet Commission Begins Work in Estonia

PM1608154489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 First Edition p 2

[Special correspondents A. Petrushov, V. Shirokov report from Tallinn: "Destructive Confrontation"]

[Text] August 16—The strike in Estonia is in its 6th day. It did not stop even after the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies' commission arrived. Furthermore, more labor collectives joined in the strike yesterday—at the Tallinn and Novotallinnskiy commercial seaports.

As PRAVDA has already reported, the commission arrived in Tallinn 15 August. On the same day the parliamentarians had meetings at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the repbulic Supreme Soviet Presidium and with leaders of the United Council of Labor Collectives, Interdvizheniye [International Movement of Working People of the Estonian SSR], and the republican strike committee, and also with representatives of enterprises' strike committees. In the evening of the same day the commission also met with representatives of the Union of Labor Collectives of Estonia, to which mainly Estonian-speaking working people belong.

The commission members noted the obvious tension in relations between the two sides, neither of which is willing to concede or is striving to find a real compromise. The initiators of the strike are still worried that no assessment has been given of the law adopted by the republic Supreme Soviet on elections to local soviets, under which a residence qualification is imposed. True, the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Presidium adopted a decision on the formation of an expert group of Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies to study proposals on taking into account the views and interests of the minority in the Estonian parliament. Of course, the Presidium has no right to revoke a decision of the session, but some considerable time will elapse before the next session is convened. At the same time certain Interdvizheniye leaders should not make ill-considered statements. Meanwhile the strike is gathering speed, and its consequences are unpredictable.

In any event, according to economists' preliminary calculations, direct losses already totaled R5 million by 15 August. In view of the fact that the republic's enterprises have associates all over the country, this figure should be increased by at least a factor of 10. Nor can the moral aspect be disregarded, since it complicates the general situation in the republic.

So the quest for mutually acceptable solutions must be pursued more actively and with growing dynamism, without postponing it to the distant future.

The work of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission continues. Its members are meeting with labor collectives, exchanging views with the strikers, and putting forward their own proposals. At the same time similar

work is being done by Estonian Communist Party Central Committee members and workers from city and rayon party committees. A decision to that effect was adopted at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau meeting held yesterday.

However, the degree of risk of exacerbation of interethnic relations is growing. In this strained atmosphere ultraradical groups have stepped up their activity. This is indicated by the intention expressed by the unregistered, extremist, so-called national independence party to hold its constituent congress in the next few days. Any extreme actions could spark off still more confrontation. Especially in the present situation, as the date of the conclusion of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact approaches, a date which various kinds of extremists are planning to exploit for their own purposes. According to various sources, anti-Soviet acts are expected on their part. In this connection the task for all society's healthy forces is not to lose the initiative, but to carry out their own organizational and political measures. This, incidentally, was the subject of serious discussion at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

We took away from our meetings and frank discussions in the republic a sense that people want to live and work normally, to work for perestroyka and to further it. Everything possible must be done to help them in this. The quest for consensus must be continued hour by hour. Mutual concessions and compromises, mutual responsibility, are needed by both sides. Otherwise there appears to be no possible way out of the impasse.

Strikes, Tension Continue

LD1708104589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0842 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, August 17 (TASS)—In Estonia, the strike declared by representatives of the Russian-speaking population of that Baltic republic in connection with the adoption by the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet of the law on elections to local soviets is continuing. The law envisages the introduction of residency requirements for the electorate and candidates, and thereby infringes on the rights of the nonindigenous part of the population.

As reported by central newspapers, new factors have emerged on the political horizon of Estonia. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decree yesterday on the discrepancy between the USSR Constitution and the provisions of the new legislative acts of the Estonian SSR which limit election rights. It was noted that the supreme organ of republican power intends to reconsider these laws before the first of October. At the Kremlin meeting yesterday, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision abolishing the strike was cancelled. A deputy group was set up to work out the mechanism of taking account of the opinion of the minority. The USSR Supreme Soviet deputy group that has left for Estonia is working actively. The parliamentarians met the republic's leadership, and visited labor collectives and the republican strike committee.

However, the tension remains high. As reported by TRUD, the republican strike committee demands additional guarantees that their conditions will be met. True, at some enterprises, such as the RET association, the strike was called off after a referendum was held among workers. Other enterprises, for example, the collective of 9,000 at the Narva "Krengolm" textile combine, while speaking against some clauses of the republican law on elections to local soviets reject striking as a method of struggle for their political and civil rights. At the same time about 50 enterprises are still not working in the republic. Special alarm is being aroused by the situation on the railway where over 2,000 unloaded railcars have accumulated. The strikers have been joined by the collectives of both Tallinn ports.

Further on Strike Situation

LD1608153289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Tallinn, 16 Aug (ETA-TASS)—The strike declared by representatives of the Russian-speaking population of this Baltic republic in connection with the adoption by the Estonian Soviet Socialist Repubolic [SSR] Supreme Soviet of a law on elections to local Soviets is continuing in Estonia. The law envisages the introduction of a length of residence qualification for voters and candidates and thus encroaches upon the rights of the Russian- speaking population of the republic.

Around 50 enterprises are not working. There is particular anxiety about the situation on the railroad where over 2,000 cars await unloading. They may hinder the movement of passenger trains. The collectives of both Tallinn's ports have joined the strikers.

At the sitting of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium which took place 15 August the political situation in the country was discussed. The presidium affirmed the group of experts which is charged with elaborating a mechanism for protecting the interests of the minority population in Estonia. The decision taken by the presidium 10 August "On measures for providing for legality and law and order in the republic" which was regarded by the strikers as an attempt to force them to break off their strike, was also repealed.

The group of USSR people's deputies which arrived in Estonia is holding meetings with representatives of labor collectives and strike committees.

In a dispatch from Tallinn published today in IZVESTIYA, it is written that agreement can only be reached through dialogue and the attainment of mutual understanding between the public organizations representing the Estonian-and Russian-speaking populations.

Strike Leader Comments

PM1608162689 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 17 Aug 89 p 3

[Special correspondent M. Rostarchuk report: "Tallinn: Start of a Dialogue?"]

[Text] Tallinn—On the evening of 14 August, a meeting was held at the headquarters of the republic council of representatives of strike committees, in the Tallinn Ship Repair Plant, between V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and council members and workers from the strike-bound enterprises. In a 40-minute speech, the leader of the republic's party organization repeated a number of the formulas he had stated the same day in an Estonian television interview on the political situation in the republic.

In particular, he stressed that the republic's political and economic position is critical, that interethnic relations have become extremely tense, and that the recently adopted laws on national sovereignty, the state language, and elections to local soviets had failed to take into account the opinion and aspirations of the Russian-speaking ethnic minority resident in Estonia.

Among the causes that have led to the tension, V. Vyalyas cited the sharp reduction in the size of the Estonian working class—the main standard-bearer of internationalism. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary admitted that the decline in party discipline had also played a negative role in the exacerbation of the political situation. Certain representatives of the party and state apparatus have been interpreting the proclaimed principle of the "paramountcy of the indigenous nation" in a way other than that expressed in the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee's formulation: No infringement of the political and civil rights of people of any nation is permissible.

Touching on the recent Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution declaring the strike illegal and instructing the republic Prosecutor's Office to begin a corresponding investigation, V. Vyalyas stated that nobody will be prosecuted for striking if no crime has been committed. V. Vyalyas replied in the negative to a question on whether labor collectives would have to make good strike-related losses.

In conclusion, V. Vyalyas called on the strikers to resume dialogue with the republic leadership, to find mutually acceptable solutions to all the disputes, and, above all, to suspend the strike during the talks involving USSR people's deputies. However, the republic strike committee refused to suspend the political strike, arguing that labor collectives no longer believe mere words—the republic's leaders have already repeatedly violated accords reached at previous talks and have thereby discredited themselves in the eyes of the Russian-speaking minority. The strike can only be called off once specific compromises have been worked out and officially adopted.

On the whole, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary and the republic strike committee assessed the meeting as a positive beginning to a new dialogue.

At the same time, the logical question must be asked: Why did the republic leadership allow matters to go so far—to the point of a political strike lasting many days? Was the present crisis not the outcome of the development of events since last summer? Was it not the whole package of decisions—governmental and legislative—as well as nationalist propaganda in the local press and the actions of leaders of social movements largely uniting the indigenous population, that created the interethnic conflict that has now complicated the normal flow of life in Estonia? Was the present situation really so hard to predict?

No doubt it is now necessary to answer for this political shortsightedness or, even worse, for this desire to look as good as possible in the eyes of nationalist and even anti-Soviet circles. Or else to dissociate oneself from them quite clearly and begin to seek consensus and mutual understanding.

Perhaps the slogan "paramountcy of the indigenous population" should be replaced by another: True well-being for the indigenous nationality cannot be achieved by infringing the rights and freedoms of people of other nationalities. And finally, the illusion that Russian-speaking Estonians can be forced to leave the republic's territory by means of "strong-arm tactics" should be dispelled. That could only lead to national disaster.

At the same time the awareness of this has not yet come to fruition in the Estonian leadership, despite the present political crisis. This is demonstrated, in particular, by the recently published decision of the council of authorized representatives of the Estonian People's Front. In this document the present political strike is described as blackmail and pressure. The following statement by the council of representatives also appears highly debatable: The present crisis in the republic should be viewed only against the background of the general political situation in the country. Estonia has become a "target for forces fighting for yesterday." However, one cannot but welcome the declaration of equality of all people before the Estonian SSR law, as well as the call to avoid everything that could wound the national sensibilities of people of a different nationality. One cannot but support the proposal of the People's Front that the republic Supreme Soviet commence work on the formulation of a draft law guaranteeing the rights of national groups in the Estonian SSR.

A deputies' group has arrived in Tallinn, headed by G. Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations. However, the intensive talks it held at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and with the republican council of strike committees failed to yield concrete results. The republican council yesterday decided to continue the strike. The scale of the strike is spreading: Shifts at the Tallinn commercial port have joined the strikers, two mines are at a standstill in Kokhtla-Yarve, and more than 50 enterprises in all have stopped work in the two cities.

Meanwhile, at a session of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, the composition of an expert group of deputies was approved. The group is to submit proposals designed to improve the work of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet in such a way as to take into account the viewpoint and interests of the Russian-speaking minority.

People's Deputies Meet Strikers

LD1608183489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] The situation in Estonia. The strike in Estonia is continuing for the 6th day. Today, either partially or completely, 51 enterprises are not operating. A group of USSR people's deputies today arrived in the republic to acquaint itself with the situation on the spot. It is headed by Tarzevich, chairman of the Commission on Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The people's deputies met with collectives of the strikers at the Dvigatel and Metallist works. The workers of these enterprises spoke about what had forced them to resort to such an extreme measure. The primary cause is profound dissatisfaction with the results of the 12th Session of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, which adopted a law on elections to local soviets of people's deputies.

This law has an anti-democratic bent, said (Lysenko), chairman of the republican council of strike committees, in a converstion with a TASS correspondent. It establishes a residential qualification that actually deprives every tenth inhabitant of the republic of the right to elect or be elected. Several of its clauses contradict the USSR Constitution. It is becoming the norm for the republic's parliament to adopt half-baked and hastily discussed legislative documents. This was also the case, for example, with the law on language—the suspension of which is demanded by the strikers. We cannot fail to be disturbed by the action of the so-called Party of National Independence of Estonia, which is setting up citizens' committees that represent, in essence, alternative bodies of power. This is a direct threat to socialism in Estonia.

The results of the session—a mechanism for decision-making by the republican parliament that ignores the view of the minority of the Supreme Soviet which expresses the interests of the nonindigenous population, forces us to resort to non-parliamentary methods of political struggle, (Lysenko) added.

Today's republican newspapers appearing in the Estonian and Russian languages have published a decision by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on the formation of an expert group to study the proposals of deputies from the nonindigenous population, and to consider the opinions and interests of the minority.

The secretaries of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, as well as city and rayon party committees, are meeting the strikers.

The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, having heard reports yesterday from representatives of the law enforcement bodies about how legality and law and order are being maintained in Estonia, has made a decision on this issue, revoking a 10 August decision on measures to ensure legality and law and order in the republic.

Dialogue Urged

PM1708083189 Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Aug 89 p 4

[Own correspondent L. Vayno report: "Estonia: Chance Not Yet Lost"]

[Text] Tallinn—The situation in the republic remains alarming. There is as yet no confidence that the strike at more than 40 Estonian enterprises will be called off in the next few days. Moreover, at rallies held since Tuesday morning new Russian-speaking enterprise collectives have expressed their intention to join the strikers. This intention was also expressed at the sixth branch of the "Tallinnavtotrans" Association, which delivers grain. The railroad situation has become critical. The strike committee has taken certain vitally important channels—the supply of oxygen to hospitals, the unloading of medicines, shipments of shale to power stations—under its control. However, the threat to everyday human needs is tangible nonetheless...

There is serious concern among all strata of society, irrespective of nationality or age. Social organizations are striving to state their positions in the republican press. Extremely "antistrike" views have been expressed by the Estonian Union of Labor Collectives, which unites around 400,000 working people at Estonian-speaking enterprises.

The Estonian People's Front Board has called for people to "refrain from anything that could offend national feelings. We will have to live alongside each other in the future, and growing tension would make our lives and the lives of our children unbearable." The People's Front

has called on the republic's Supreme Soviet to rapidly embark on drawing up draft laws guaranteeing the rights of ethnic groups in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, gave a TV interview in Estonian and Russian on Monday evening. He stated that although the fundamental line of the republic's Communist Party—to aim for republic economic accountability and to flesh out the concept of sovereignty—is correct, a number of mistakes and blunders have been committed in the course of its fulfillment. In particular, no mechanism was created to allow the will of the minority to be effectively taken into consideration both in parliament and at other levels. (Was this not why points in the law on local soviet elections which infringe on the Russian-speaking population's rights by stipulating a residence qualification were adopted?) Such a mechanism, the first secretary stressed, should be immediately set up and brought into operation. It is time to really count the economic cost of the language law. Although obviously necessary in principle, it could not be implemented with existing forces and means, much less in such a limited timeframe. V. Vyalyas called for active talks and a search for consensus. He considers the arrival of the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies' commission to assess the political situation in the republic to be normal parliamentary practice.

This commission of four deputies arrived in Tallinn yesterday. However, the republic strike committee rejected the condition that had previously been advanced—that the strike be called off when the commission arrived. It was stated here that the ending of the strike would only be considered if the commission's conclusions proved acceptable.

When asked about his personal view of the situation, I. Shepelevich, one of the leaders of the United Council of Labor Collectives and director of the Pegelman Electrical Equipment Plant, replied: "The strike can only be called off if steps are taken by union organs—if a commission comprising independent people's deputies is set up. An appeal or calls for good sense from the republic leaders will hardly be taken seriously. After all, these are the very people who voted to infringe on some of the Russian-speaking population's rights..."

A rigid stance, isn't it? Perhaps the interview with the first secretary, when many steps were reevaluated, came too late. But nonetheless, are the sides' positions really so irreconcilable? We will try to refrain from categorical judgments and simply compare V. Vyalyas' speech with the appeal to Estonian residents on the same day from the labor collective at the "Elektrotekhnika" Science and Production Association, which was the "cradle" of the current political strikes. We will quote the part of the document that sets out the striking enterprise's position:

"We are putting our position to you, esteemed countrymen.

"We support the proposal from the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies' group on the creation of a mechanism to take account of ethnic minorities' opinions in the elaboration and adoption of legislative acts before the next session.

"We consider it necessary to ensure guarantees on Estonian SSR territory for the independence of enterprises envisaged by the amendments to the Law on the State Enterprise adopted at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"We consider it expedient to set up a commission under the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet to investigate cases of citizens' rights being violated with respect to the fulfillment of the Estonian SSR language law. Information on its work should be published in the press.

"We consider it necessary to draw up and publish before the law on republic economic accountability comes into operation (that is, before 1 January 1990) a state program funded out of the republic's state budget to teach the population Estonian.

"We hope that our sincere words will meet with understanding and a favorable response from you."

Some things may be disputed in this document, but it also contains things worth heeding and discussing, not least with the participation of the lofty deputies' commission. The chance to stop the exacerbation of interethnic strike has not yet been lost. We need a constructive dialogue in order to achieve this. And we need it immediately.

Ports Crippled by Strikes

PM1608155789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent L. Levitskiy report under the "Direct Link" rubric: "Jointly Seeking a Way Out"]

[Text] Tallinn—The night was quiet. The gantry cranes, their arms slightly lowered, were motionless. There were dozens of the motionless giants. All services at the Tallinn Maritime Trade Port had stopped working. It is probably the country's first striking port.

"No, the Novotallinnskiy port has stopped too," V. Yermakov, a navigator and member of the labor collective council and strike committee, made clear. "We restrained people from taking the extreme step of a strike for a long time."

"What overcame your arguments?"

"The intensification of tension in the republic. Nothing was being done to remove the cause of the strikes. We had heard of attempts to end them by force. They were alleged to be just a 'plot by the directors' and some sinister outside forces. Instead of a serious analysis there

were attempts to conceal the real contradictions. Ninety-seven percent of our collective voted for a strike. Were they mesmerized by the director? No, they are workers defending their rights...."

I, too, visited the Novotallinnskiy port. The republic's sea gateway has been slammed shut. Four railroad stations and more than 40 industrial, construction, and transport organizations are idle.

Only sincere dialogue and honest analysis can get us out of the conflict. The development of events has convinced me that an agreement will only be reached after the social organizations representing the Estonian and Russian speaking populations reach mutual understanding.

The People's Front of Estonia Executive Council [sovet upolnomochennykh] insists that the crisis in the republic has by no means been caused by internal contradictions and exacerbated problems, and has not been intensified by the adoption of the law on elections to the republic's local soviets.

I will not quote the documents from the labor collective council association uniting dozens of major Russian-speaking enterprises. They state that the democratic, civil, and political rights of most of the Russian-speaking population have been violated. How can this be? It is not for a journalist to give advice. But it is clear that if the social movements had prepared a joint platform on the basis of which the situation in the republic could be stabilized, it would have been an effective step forward along the path of democracy.

That is why the proposal from the People's Front Executive Council to embark on the elaboration of a draft law guaranteeing the rights of ethnic groups in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] is important. It wholly accords with the proposals from the labor collective council association and the group of Supreme Soviet deputies.

The Tuesday session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the political situation in the republic. The presidium ratified the expert group which has been tasked with working out a mechanism for protecting the interests of the population's minority population.

The presidium members discussed the way in which the 10 August resolution "On Measures To Ensure Legality and Safeguard Law and Order in the Republic" is being fulfilled. They stressed once again the need to be guided by the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution and the appeal from USSR people's deputies for strikes to be suspended until the law on the procedure for resolving labor disputes by collectives has been adopted. In the prevailing situation law enforcement organs have been instructed to take existing USSR and Estonian SSR laws as their guide.

The Presidium rescinded [priznal utrativshim silu] its 10 August resolution. It had been seen by the striking collectives as an attempt to force them to call off their strikes.

The correspondents' center has just been informed that militia staffers have returned to the labor collective council at the Baltic Ship Repair Plant the documents removed yesterday, and have tendered their apologies. This will undoubtedly help to calm the situation.

The group of USSR people's deputies who have arrived in Estonia will meet with representatives of labor collectives and strike committees.

One thing is clear—both sides need to seek a compromise, since strike confrontation can only lead to deadlock.

Tallinn Official Fears Confrontation

LD1608142289 Tallinn International Service in English 2030 GMT 14 Aug 89

[From the "Estonia Today" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We asked the secretary of Tallinn's City Committee, (Jaak Saarnis), to comment on the situation:

[Begin Recording] [(Saarnis) in vernacular fading to English translation] [Passage omitted] Quite a number of people have been forced to join the strike and they don't even know what they are striking for or against. The strike committee and the strikers in general give no information to the general (?public) and everything they do is banked in information blackout. The blackout is so total that even the leaders of the republic cannot receive information about the situation. I cannot but have the impression that some forces, or some people personally, need disorder, agitation, and mistrust. For that purpose the natural attitude of those Russians who are unaware of what it is all about is used. Their ignorance is used to destabilize the situation.

[Reporter] (Jaak Saarnis), is there a possibility that the Army will be used?

[(Saarnis)] We have been asked this question very often. I'd like to stress once more that, in general, the situation is peaceful and under control but it makes us careful that in a number of negotiations the Intermovement and the strike committee have hinted that in the present tense political situation there should be cooperation with the Army. And it has been hinted outside negotiations, during the short breaks, that strikers should be given technological help. I don't know what is meant by this and I don't want to believe they mean arms. Listening to these statements one may have frightful thoughts that, specifically, confrontation can be near at hand and that's what we need least at present.

Here we have to deal with the all-union conservatory [as heard] movement, the centers of which are in Leningrad and Kemerovo. This movement opposes everything that's new and progressive. [end recordinfg]

Estonian Deputies Protest Tiyt Made Article

PM1708084989 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 12 Aug 89 p 2

[Excerpt] For a while now, Estonia's Tiyt Made, a professor of international economics, has been a columnist on this page. Since becoming a SVENSKA DAGBLADET columnist Made has been elected a member of the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies.

The fact that a Soviet citizen can write critical articles about Soviet society in a Western bourgeois newspaper without being the target of reprisals is in itself evidence of the sweeping changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union. Events following Tiyt Made's most recent column, "Great-Russian Nationalism" on 24 July, underline this even more clearly.

On 27 July, Dmitriy Gorochev, head of the TASS Stockholm bureau, replied to Tiyt Made's column. The column has also attracted attention in the Soviet Union.

On 5 August, Tiyt Made's column was published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, organ of the Communist Party of the Russian Soviet Republic with a circulation of over 3 million. In the same newspaper scientist Arkadiy Yanenko replied to Tiyt Made, and his letter is published below.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET has also received an "appeal" [haenvaendelse] from Estonian members of the Supreme Soviet prompted by the column.

A few years ago, Tiyt Made's column, if it had reached us for publication, would have led to his being silenced—in one way or another. A year ago the reaction with which the column has met would have been described as incredible. And even today, when the incredible has happened, it is difficult to understand and analyze what this openness actually means.

Is freedom of speech and information in the liberal Western sense of the term on its way to being established in Soviet society? What does this mean for our view of the Soviet Union?

Petition From Estonian People's Deputies

Estonian People's Deputies who have taken part in the sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet have adopted a appeal as follows:

"The Swedish newspaper SVENSKA DAGBLADET on 24 July published an article by People's Deputy Tiyt Made containing extremely insulting statements directed against the Russian people.

"Racism has always been alien to our society. We utterly condemn both the fact that a people's deputy has published such an article in a foreign newspaper and the fact that the article is rapidly being disseminated in our press in translation. The aim of this is to sow interethnic division, which we must all oppose.

"It is to be hoped that Tiyt Made's voters will voice their views on what has happened and make them known to the general public.

"People's deputies elected from Estonia appeal to all mass media that have disseminated the above-mentioned article in the hope that space will be found for the publication of this appeal." [passage omitted]

CPSU Releases 'Draft Nationalities Policy'

PM1608141589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

["Draft Nationalities Policy of the Party Under Present Conditions (CPSU Platform)"]

[Text] The nationalities question in the Soviet Union has become exceptionally acute recently. The party is aware that the solution of the problems that have arisen in this connection is of enormous significance for the destiny of perestroyka and the future of our country. This solution can and must be found only within the mainstream of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society. Key importance on this plane will attach to the transformations being effected at the present stage of the reform of the economic and political system of socialism in the USSR. Principled approaches toward the solution of this task are contained in the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference resolution "On Interethnic Relations."

With the holding of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the subsequent formation of new union, republican, and local organs of power a political mechanism is taking shape within whose framework urgent questions of the development of Soviet nations and interethnic relations can be resolved. The USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities and its commissions are called on to make a special study of these questions.

The CPSU Central Committee considers it essential to define as one of the most important components of the overall concept of perestroyka the party's present policy on the nationalities question, which with a consideration for Soviet and world experience would ensure conditions for the free development of all peoples of our country and consolidation of their friendship and cooperation on the basis of the principles of the organic combination of the equality of the peoples and the equality of people regardless of nationality.

The proposed platform is the result of the analysis and comparison of the opinions of party committees, soviet organs, scientific institutions, the broad public, and

various public movements, scientists, and press items. It is the result of the consideration of new ideas put forward at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. It is also the reflection of the opinions of Soviet people of different nationalities contained in letters sent to the CPSU Central Committee.

The Legacy Passed On to Us

To understand the dimensions and importance of what has been done over the years of Soviet power, you must bear in mind the positions from which we started. There was virtually no industrial production over enormous expanses, especially in national regions, and whole strata of national culture remained unknown to the people's masses. Many peoples were at the feudal or even patriarchal-clan stage of social development. Social inequality was aggravated by national oppression.

After the victory of the October revolution, the party and the Soviet authorities embarked on implementation of a socialist program on the nationalities question. It revolved around the slogans of national self determination and the working people's international cooperation put forward by V.I. Lenin.

The formation of the USSR proceeded in a keen political struggle. Various approaches appeared toward the country's future national and state structure. It is to V.I. Lenin's credit that at the time he succeeded in discarding extremes: The proposal for a confederation, that is, a structure that did not make it possible to pool the efforts and potential of the young Soviet republics to attain common goals, and the project of "autonomization" that minimized the independence of national-state formations and was in fact aimed at creating a unitary state.

The unification of the republics was achieved on the basis of a soviet federation that enabled the peoples, on the one hand, to implement the right to self determination and the creation of their own statehood and, on the other, to use the advantages stemming from the pooling of their efforts and joint development along a socialist path.

Many nations resurrected or created for the first time their own statehood and various forms of national-territorial autonomy. The formation of the union socialist state on the basis of the 1922 Treaty and the 1924 Constitution made it possible through joint efforts to implement the country's industrialization and the socialist reorganization of the countryside, aiming at eliminating the backwardness of outlying districts and equalizing the peoples' levels of economic development and material provision. An integral national economic complex took shape. The social structure of the Soviet nations underwent a qualitative change. In the spiritual sphere opportunities were created for preserving and developing national individuality. At the same time, integration processes proceeded, conditioned by the unity of aims and ideals that objectively led to the formation of a new social community—the Soviet people.

All this served as the basis for gradually overcoming the former hostility and distrust and for shaping the friendship of the peoples. This friendship's strength and firmness were fully revealed in the Patriotic War, when all Soviet people came to the defense of the freedom and independence of their multinational motherland and together won the victory over fascism.

Despite all the contradictions of subsequent development, the peoples' economic, social, and spiritual progress proceeded unswervingly. Large production forces were formed in all regions of the country. The republics developed their own working class and scientific and technical and artistic intelligentsia. The appearance of the countryside was transformed on the basis of mechanization and the cooperative movement. There was a sharp improvement in the standard of education of all Soviet peoples. As a result of the industrial and agricultural development of the North, Siberia, and the Far East and the creation of new industrial, scientific, and cultural centers, the country's national map changed. Today there is no territory where people of different nationalities do not live and work together. The demographic situation, characterized by the rapid growth of the urban population, has changed.

These deep changes have created new realities that must be considered both with a view to creating conditions for the further development of each national community, and with a view to harmonizing interethnic relations. But the ossified forms of national-state structure do not make it possible to fully consider new demands and use new opportunities in this important sphere of social life. Hence, the radical renewal of nationalities policy becomes an objective requirement. It is dictated primarily by the specific tasks of perestroyka.

At the same time, the problems of national development and interethnic relations which the country is encountering right now also have deep roots in the past. It is essential to look into this and to resolutely oppose everything that does not accord with socialist ideals and principles.

The impulses which the proletarian revolution gave the nationalities policy have not faded over our entire history. But the deformations of social development that began soon after V.I. Lenin have also had a pernicious effect on interethnic relations.

The administrative edict system, which needed extremely centralized, uniform structures, ignored the needs of national development more and more as time went on. The departmental, bureaucratically mediocre approach prevailed, and this affected everything—from the siting of production forces to problems of language,

education, and culture. On the pretext of protecting statewide interests, the autonomy of the republics was restricted and the unitarian trend gained strength. The demarcation of the competence of the union and the republics laid down in the 1924 Constitution was gradually eroded, and the republics' sovereignty became largely formal.

One major cause of the exacerbation of national problems was the mass repressions, in particular the resettlement of entire peoples from their traditional places of residence to other republics and regions. This was the fate of the Kalmyks, Karachai, Balkarians, Chechens, Ingush, Crimean Tatars, Meskhetian Turks, Germans, Koreans, Greeks, and Kurds. Many party and state workers in the republics and representatives of the national intelligentsia were groundlessly accused of nationalism and persecuted.

Although the decisions in question were condemned and revoked after the 20th congress, it was not possible in every case to eliminate the consequences of the injustices perpetrated.

Many acute problems of the present day were generated by the contradictions of industrial economic development itself and by disregard for its social and ecological consequences. Great damage was inflicted on people's sense of nationality by the predominance of the sector principle of management and the associated departmentalism, as a result of which national conditions and traditions, ecological needs, and the interests of comprehensive territorial development were not always taken into account. For a long time republican, kray, and oblast organs themselves pursued a line of unbalanced development of industrial potential.

The present problems in interethnic relations are associated to a significant degree with the underestimation of objective social processes. The contradiction, common to the whole world in the second half of the 20th century, between the development of nations and their rapprochement, between the desire for autonomy and the need to deepen the links of integration, has had its effect in our multinational country, too. But it was not properly analyzed or taken into account in policy.

The growth of national self-awareness aroused interest in the history of one's people and their cultural values and traditions. However, the satisfaction of these needs was hampered by theoretical directives on the accelerated rapprochement of the nations and the assertion that the nationalities question had been fully and finally resolved, which led in practice to the belittling of national diversity and the peculiarities of spiritual life.

The demographic, economic, and social processes that have taken place in recent decades have in a number of regions substantially changed the correlation between the indigenous population and the population that has settled there as a result of immigration, and this has aroused misgivings as to the preservation of national uniqueness. Furthermore, rapid mechanical population growth has created additional difficulties of a social nature and adversely affected the national structure of the working class. In other regions, with a large natural population growth, a shortage of jobs has arisen. All this has also created interethnic tension.

All the country's peoples, including the Russian people, have sustained damage as a result of violations of the Leninist principles of nationalities policy. Today in Russia itself, which was and remains the consolidating principle of our entire union and which made a decisive contribution to the elimination of the backwardness of national regions, there are also many acute socioeconomic problems and problems of ecology, the restoration of historical monuments, and the preservation of national cultural assets.

Indifference toward national uniqueness and the failure to resolve many social problems had a painful effect on national consciousness and generated a sense of grievance, which was not infrequently exploited in order to whip up the situation, and which created fertile soil for national extremism. All this rendered national problems in a number of regions of the country explosive, and meant that the contradictions accumulated here became incorporated in the restructuring process that has begun.

At present, Soviet society, which has embarked on a path of radical reforms, is critically reinterpreting its past. The task is, while preserving everything of value, to eliminate injustice; inject new energy into the economic, political, and spiritual life of every people of our country; and open up scope for free national development, and at the same time to foster and augment the international unity of the socialist society and strengthen the multinational soviet state. **The harmonization of interethnic relations on a new basis is one of the highest goals of the party's nationalities policy.**

How do the strategic tasks and basic guidelines for nationalities policy appear in this context?

Socialism, among other key characteristics, presupposes the friendly cohabitation of peoples, each of which should have the right and the real potential to preserve its autonomy and uniqueness, culture, traditions, and language. Today a most important task is to develop effective state, social, and economic mechanisms that will ensure the organic combination of national and international values and interests.

This task is inseparable from perestroyka in economic, social, and political relations; it can only be resolved through the democratization of Soviet society and the establishment of the people's socialist self-management. Here the following avenues of nationalities policy come to the fore:

—transformations in the Soviet federation and its investment with real political and economic content;

—the expansion of the rights and potential of all forms and types of national autonomous entity;

—the safeguarding of equal rights for every people and the satisfaction of the specific interests of every nationality;

—the creation of the conditions for the free development of national cultures and languages;

—the strengthening of guarantees to rule out the infringement of citizens' rights on the grounds of nationality;

—the renewal of all ideological, political, and educational work in the sphere of national relations.

How To Restructure the Soviet Federation and Render It Fully Valid [Polnokrovnyy]

Since April 1985 a program of reforms in the economy, politics, and other spheres of public life has been formulated and is being implemented in our country. The entire course of the country's recent development leads to the conclusion that there is a **need for radical transformations in the Soviet federation.**

The guarantee of the durability of our federation is the completely voluntary nature of the association of the Soviet republics in a single union state, in which each republic retains its autonomy and has the right to participate in the adoption of common decisions. Exceptional importance is attached to the position of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which came out in favor of restoration of the Leninist principle of national self-determination in its true sense, which should be safeguarded by appropriate democratic legal guarantees.

Consistently upholding this principle, the CPSU sees it as the priority policy task to ensure the satisfaction of the diverse needs of all the Soviet nations through a renewed federation by investing the federation with real political and economic content, so that each nation receives wide opportunities for developing its economy and culture with the support of the mighty national economic complex and scientific and cultural potential created in our country to ensure that this policy leads to the international cohesion of the Soviet peoples and the strengthening of the USSR.

There is enormous potential inherent in the Soviet federation, and it is important to utilize it to the full.

The optimum correlation between the rights of the union republics and the USSR as a whole is a condition of the stability and successful development of our federation. In this context, several key issues, on which an agreed solution should be found, come to the fore. **First.**The main idea at the basis of the Soviet federation is expressed in the generally recognized formula: Without a strong union there are no strong republics; without strong republics there is no strong union.

In accordance with this, it is necessary **to clearly define the competence and mutual commitments of the union and the republics.**

—The union should be assigned the powers necessary for establishing the fundamentals of the political system and developing it, ensuring the country's defense and security, pursuing foreign policy, coordinating and resolving common tasks in the sphere of the economy, science, and culture, and the position of the individual, utilizing integration processes efficiently, and organizing mutual assistance. The union should also be assigned the powers necessary for ensuring the dynamic and stable development of the country's national economic complex.

—All rights appropriate to the status of the republics as sovereign socialist states should be transferred to them. They are empowered to resolve all questions of state and public life with the exception of those that they voluntarily transfer to the union.

—If a union law goes beyond the powers of the union, the republics have the right to raise the question of its revocation; a republican law that goes beyond the limits of the republic's competence is also subject to revocation.

—The highest representative organs of power of the union republics may protest and suspend the operation of directives of the union government on their territory, if they violate the constitutional rights of the union republic.

—Within the framework of the federal rule-of-law state, mechanisms should be created and precise procedures laid down for resolving disagreements that may arise between the organs of power and management of the USSR and the republics. This function could be fulfilled first of all by the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, acting as a constitutional court.

Second. The economic content of self-determination and sovereignty in present-day conditions is expressed in the **transition of the republics to economic accountability and self-financing.** In accordance with this:

—The union republic should have the right to the ownership and management of the land, mineral resources, forests, water, and other natural resources on its territory. At the same time, the USSR should be assigned the right to define union-wide principles for the use of such resources, taking into account, among other things, statewide and interrepublican interests and the interests of defense and the country's security.

—In the interests of the clear allocation of rights and responsibility on questions of ownership and use of property, the affiliation of industrial, transport, agricultural, trade, municipal, and other enterprises should be defined according to specific forms of social ownership: union-wide, republican (of union and autonomous republics), municipal [kommunalnyy], cooperative, or ownership of social organizations and labor collectives. The union retains mutually acceptable general forms of regulating ownership relations.

—Alongside ownership by the union and the republics, enterprises may exist that are in joint union-republican ownership, as well as mixed forms of ownership, including forms involving foreign capital. The right to enjoyment, ownership, and use of such property, including its alienation, belongs to two or more republics.

—The choice of economic methods and forms of economic activity is made by the republics autonomously on their own territories, proceeding from the actual level of the socialization of production and the structure of production forces, taking into account the principles of economic efficiency and social justice.

—In the framework of the development of the union-wide market, the conditions of economic exchange between enterprises and organizations and also between republics must be determined on a contractual basis. The republics autonomously select one form or another of economic accountability [khozraschet]. It is expedient to examine the possibility of establishing several such forms, which are differentiated according to the degree of economic autonomy. The nature and forms of deductions into the all-union budget and reciprocal accounting must be structured in accordance with these differences.

—All republics participate in the creation of the all-union fund for supporting economically underdeveloped regions and also for supporting those regions that have suffered as a result of natural disasters or ecological catastrophes in opening up new territories.

—The consolidation of the republics' economic autonomy and the growth of the national economic potential as well as the enhancement of their well-being are inseparable from the process of the deepening of specialization, economic integration, the full utilization of the benefits of the single market, and the buildup of the overall scientific and technical potential.

—An important task of the union organs is to promote a situation whereby the republics can pool their efforts and means on a bilateral or multilateral basis for the implementation of joint projects, and can create inter-republican commissions for economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation.

Third. The question of **citizenship** is closely bound up with the sovereignty of the republic. According to the principles of socialist federalism, it should be acknowledged that:

—Each union republic has its own citizenship, which extends to all its inhabitants. A citizen of a union republic is simultaneously a citizen of the USSR.

Privileges for some Soviet citizens and the infringement of the rights of other Soviet citizens are inadmissible on national, religious, and liguistic grounds, or on the grounds of length of residence.

Fourth. When joining the USSR, the republics handed over to the jurisdiction of the central organs the implementation of the basic tasks of the country's foreign policy. At the same time, they still retain that inalienable feature of sovereignty—the right to maintain relations with foreign states and international organizations.

In the immediate future the constitutional provision should be realized whereby the USSR must establish the overall procedure and implement the coordination of the foreign policy and foreign trade activity of the union republics, including their sending of delegations and permanent representatives to states with which they maintain economic and cultural ties. The republics' foreign ties must not conflict with all-union interests.

Fifth. One of the main aims of the association of republics into the Union lies in **ensuring the security of the country, and the peaceful labor of the Soviet people.** The republics make their contribution to the solution of these tasks by union bodies. The USSR Armed Forces are formed on a multinational basis; all citizens regardless of national affiliation must perform military service in accordance with the all-union laws. The union bodies, by agreement with the republic authorities, reserve the right to organize defense installations on the republics' territories (airfields, training centers, ranges, and so forth) and to use these.

Sixth. In accordance with the transformation of the Soviet federation, the **questions of the status and activity of social organizations playing an important part in the political system of the USSR** arise in a new way.

Under conditions of the process of democratization taking place in the country, a choice of forms of ties between the social organizations of the republics and the union must be offered to these same organizations.

The solution of this issue as applicable to the party is of very important political significance. The CPSU emerged as an organization of kindred spirits, as an association of progressive representatives of the working class, and of the working people regardless of their national affiliation. It is precisely to its international

nature that the party is obliged for the fact that it has been able to become the consolidating and leading force for the development of society along the socialist path.

The CPSU resolutely rejects any national restrictedness, localism, corporativeness, and departmentalism. It is, and will continue to be, international in composition, ideologically and organizationally united, built upon the principles of democratic centralism, and possessing a common program and statute. The fragmentation of the CPSU by nationality is fundamentally unacceptable. All communists today must have a heightened sense of responsibility for ensuring that no demarcation of any kind should be allowed to occur on national grounds either in the party ranks or in labor collectives and in social organizations.

At the same time, fleshing out our federation with real political and economic content presupposes new approaches to party building. In the context of the existing structure of the republics' communist parties, matters must be conducted in the direction of consolidating autonomy. The enhancement of their prestige will be promoted by the granting to them of the right to resolve at their own discretion all the basic issues of party life—organizational, structural, cadre, financial, and others, and to adopt within the limits of the CPSU program their own political documents reflecting specific national needs and conditions for communists' activity.

Seventh. In the context of the restructuring of the Soviet federation, **problems of the legal status of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and its national state structure** must be resolved.

Hitherto, the implementation of a number of managerial functions in the republic was entrusted to the all-union bodies. This is having an adverse effect on the interests both of the republic itself and on the union, and it frequently leads to a confusion of tasks and the dragging out of the solution of pressing problems.

It is expedient to examine the question of creating additional bodies in the RSFSR for the management of the republic, including administrative, economic, ideological, cultural, scientific, and other bodies.

In addition to the creation of the republic state bodies, the possibility should be examined of coordinating the efforts of party organizations operating on the territory of the RSFSR by way of regularly holding Russian conferences of the CPSU that would tackle fundamental questions of the activity of the republic's communists, and also the possibility of creating in the structure of the CPSU Central Committee a Central Committee bureau (secretariat) for the direct operational leadership of the RSFSR's party organizations. The trade unions, Communist Youth League [Komsomol] and other social organizations could take a similar path.

The RSFSR is the most multinational Soviet republic. It includes 31 autonomous formations. The question of the creation of a bicameral RSFSR Supreme Soviet to ensure fuller representation and consideration for the interests of the peoples inhabiting the republic should be discussed in this connection.

The size of the territory, the scale of production, the size of the population, and other factors predetermine the purposefulness of a future transition in the RSFSR to administration by large regions and the creation there of both economic and soviet organs to ensure comprehensive development.

Eighth. How could the transformations in the Soviet federation be carried out?

The question of the elaboration and signing of a new union treaty to replace the 1922 Treaty on the Formation of the USSR is currently being raised, as is the question of preparing for a new Declaration on the USSR.

This declaration could be seen as an organic part of the USSR Constitution. It would make it possible to enshrine the measures to renew Soviet federalism, and would act as a fundamental political document in resolving issues that might arise in the future.

As for a new treaty, the Constitution of the Soviet federative state is a treaty document, since it enshrines the basic rights and reciprocal commitments of the union and its constituent republics. As is well known, the 1922 treaty is open and still retains its legal force.

Raising the Role and Legal Status of National Autonomy

The **full restoration of the legitimate rights and interests of peoples living in autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs** is an organic part of the restructuring of the Soviet federation and, at the same time, represents an independent issue of great political importance.

The differences in the form of nations' self-determination reflected the actual reality that during the period when the union was being formed peoples were at different levels of socioeconomic development, differed substantially in terms of size of population, had not all been through the stages of national consolidation, and had had their own states in the past or were prepared to set them up.

These differences have now been largely overcome. However, autonomous formations do not yet have sufficient or realistic opportunities to fully implement national requirements, and experience departmental pressure and petty tutelage from union, republic, kray, and oblast authorities.

In this connection, it is expedient to examine the possibility of implementing the following measures:

—To substantially expand the rights of **autonomous republics** in all spheres of state, economic, and cultural building, enshrining this in corresponding laws. They should have the opportunity to resolve all questions of administrative and territorial divisions on their territories, environmental protection, the development of national culture and language, and the protection of historic monuments.

—To strengthen the economic independence of autonomous republics by switching them to economic accountability and self-financing and determining forms whereby enterprises and associations under union and republic jurisdiction can participate in drawing up their budgets.

—To entitle autonomous republic organs of power to protest acts passed by USSR and union republic administrative organs if they run counter to the constitutionally enshrined powers of the USSR or a union republic.

—To enhance the legal status of **autonomous oblasts and okrugs**, granting them the right of legislative initiative in the supreme organs of USSR and union republic state power. To enshrine the provision on representation for autonomous okrugs not only at the USSR Supreme Soviet, but at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and kray and oblast soviets.

To establish that autonomous okrug organs of power can deal directly with USSR ministries and departments and union republic administrative organs, and to introduce the rule that decisions made by an okrug soviet can only be rescinded by a union republic Supreme Soviet. To stipulate that the territory of an autonomous oblast or okrug cannot be altered without their consent.

—To examine the question of the possibility of and the procedure for making the RSFSR's autonomous oblasts, if it is the will of their population and if their decision is justified, directly subordinate to RSFSR organs of state power and administration.

—To stipulate that if no agreement is reached at the local level on disputes between union republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous units within them, such disputes be submitted for examination by USSR supreme organs of power and finally resolved by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

—To constantly take into account relations not only between national-state formations within the union, but also **between nations, ethnic groups, and national groups in republics and regions.**

—To ensure all the rights and conditions for maintaining national traditions and developing the culture and language of peoples living outside their national-territorial formations or not having such formations in the USSR, and for their representation in organs of power. To continue the practice of creating national cultural centers and associations [zemlyachestvo], making use of experience already accumulated. These could work under the leadership and with the help of corresponding soviets and could have their own representatives in the soviets.

—To set up national regions [rayony] and rural and settlement soviets in areas densely populated by nationalities without their own national-territorial formations; to enshrine in law the right of national groups and communities to self-government.

—To stipulate the possibility of the formation of all-union soviets of citizens from populous nations that do not have their own territorial autonomy.

—To grant national cultural centers and social organizations the right to maintain cultural ties, both through the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and directly, with similar cultural enlightenment organizations in other states to which they have ties of common ethnic origin or cultural heritage, in order to develop contacts between ethnic minorities and citizens of such states.

The CPSU Central Committee shares the public concern about the **position of the numerically small peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East.** The industrial development of the territories they inhabit is being conducted without proper consideration for their way of life or for the social and ecological consequences. These peoples need special state protection and help.

It is necessary to grant soviets in these territories the exclusive right to develop them economically—that is, to mines, farmland, internal waterways, coastal waters, forests, and the creation of nature preserves with a view to restoring and maintaining the areas where these peoples live. A congress of representatives of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East will be convened in the very near future and an association set up to represent their interests at all levels of administration.

All other numerically small peoples in our country require an equally careful attitude and equal concern.

Regarding National Cultures and Languages

Policy in the sphere of culture, where the combination of the national and international aspects assumes special importance, must be raised to a qualitatively new level consonant with the present stage of the socialist society's development.

The CPSU proceeds on the basis of a recognition of the distinctive identity and unique value of national cultures. The preservation of this distinctive identity must be ensured by legal measures precluding any discrimination or lack of respect.

Resolutely condemning any forms of infringement of national cultures, the party sees its task as being to ensure the free development of the spiritual life of all the USSR's peoples. The forms of this development are determined in a sovereign fashion by each of those peoples without regulation [reglamentatsii] or restriction. In precisely the same way, conditions should be created for the development of the internationalist processes of interaction between cultures on a countrywide scale, and also participation in the cultural life of other countries and all mankind.

The further free development of the languages of the USSR's peoples assumes special importance. The question of the expediency of deeming the language of the nationality that gives its name to the union or autonomous republic to be the state language is a matter for the republics themselves. The status of state languages means the expansion of their social and cultural functions, the resolution of the material and technical, cadre, pedagogical, and other questions required for this, and encouragement and assistance in the study of the local language by representatives of another nationality.

In this process the equality of languages and the free choice of one's language of instruction must be strictly preserved.

It is a historical reality that the language of interethnic communication in our country is the Russian language. Therefore, it is advisable to create favorable conditions for the development of national-Russian and Russian-national linguistic communication.

It is important to accelerate public, state concern for preserving and developing the languages of numerically small peoples as the most fragile asset.

The Nationalities Question and Citizens' Rights

A most important task in strengthening the cooperation among Soviet peoples and at the same time building a socialist rule-of-law state is **the full and consistent implementation of the constitutional principle of citizens' equality regardless of racial and national affiliation.**

Any attempts to infringe upon people on grounds of nationality must be regarded as unacceptable and contrary to the principles of Soviet statehood.

Soviet citizens must feel at home anywhere in the country; that can be said to be the supreme, ultimate goal of all work to harmonize interethnic relations.

In this connection it is advisable, in particular:

—To adopt a law "On Guarantees of the Rights of USSR Citizens Living Outside Their State-Territorial Formations or Not Having Such on the Territory of the Soviet Union."

—To strengthen guarantees of the right to receive native-language instruction in school and to use the native language in social life; of the preservation and development of progressive national traditions; and of the protection of the living environment.

— To expand judicial and legal protection of Soviet people's national honor and dignity. Our legal arsenal must include an obligation to make restitution for moral and material damage for insults to national feelings and infringements of national pride, and actions aimed at kindling national enmity must be subject to prosecution and must be stopped with the full rigor of Soviet laws. —To define by law the conditions under which nationalist or chauvinist organizations and groups must be dissolved and banned.

The constitutional guarantees and rights of Soviet citizens must be observed in implementing **cadre policy.** It is necessary to seek to ensure the representation in organs of power, management, the judiciary, and prosecutor's office and in the leadership of economic and sociocultural institutions of all the peoples living in the country and in each republic—while taking account of people's business and professional qualities, of course—and to expand their participation in all-union state and social organs.

In view of the fact that the transition that is being made to the multiple-candidate system of nominating and electing deputies may lead to the loss or reduction of the representation of particular peoples in republican organs of power, the creation of a special mechanism capable of compensating for these phenomena should be considered.

—To take all measures to solve the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, the Crimean Tatars, the Volga Germans, Greeks, Kurds, Koreans, Meskhetian Turks, and others.

The interests of all the nations involved in the situation in question, the existing realities, and the likely consequences for people's lives must be taken into account in resolving such questions.

—There is a need for a legislative act ensuring the total political rehabilitation of the peoples who where subjected to repressions and mass deportations and creating guarantees that nothing similar can ever recur. This must be done in the name of historical truth, in the name of our moral ideals.

The Central Committee Politburo Commission on Political Rehabilitation must make a special examination of questions connected with accusations of so-called

"national deviationism," provide an assessment of them, and restore the names of the party and soviet figures who were politically defamed and repressed for this reason.

The 19th CPSU Conference resolution "On Interethnic Relations" recommended considering the question of creating a state organ on nationalities' affairs and national relations. Along with the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities and its commissions, it is advisable to have a special subdivision within the USSR Government to resolve the questions that arise in this sphere in a timely way.

Regarding the Ideological and Theoretical Aspect of the Nationalities Question

Noting the decisive importance of developing the Soviet federation, enhancing the role of national autonomy, and resolving the vital economic and social problems of all the peoples inhabiting the country, the party deems it necessary to sharply revitalize and step up ideological and theoretical work in this sphere.

The peoples' friendship won by October and tested in the Patriotic War was for Soviet people of the older generation their vital concern, and this was one of the most important guarantees of the normal development of interethnic relations in the country. New generations are now entering upon life, and their consciousness has been negatively influenced by the deformations and deviations from a Leninist nationalities policy mentioned above. The seeds of interethnic strife scattered in the social environment of late cannot be allowed to sprout in the future or to be able to spoil the lives of our children and grandchildren.

Radical changes are needed in the very methods and content of work to shape an internationalist consciousness. Highfalutin phrases about unity that are out of touch with reality, and lectures, conversations, and press articles that are not backed up by cogent arguments have long been ineffective. Here, too, there is a need for new political thinking that will not accept dogmatism. It is necessary to proceed on the basis that internationalism is not a denial of the right to the national; on the contrary, it means increasing attention to the peoples' national interests, and at the same time defense of common human values and consideration of the integration trends gathering strength throughout the world. It is important for internationalism to be perceived as a conscious personal requirement, not something imposed externally, from outside.

The lofty humanist meaning of internationalism is that it is irreconcilable with nationalism and chauvinism. As recent events have shown, within society there are nationalist elements which, speculating on economic and social difficulties, are deliberately exacerbating the situtation in a number of regions of the country and kindling interethnic conflicts, which has led to loss of life and the appearance of refugees, has entailed great material losses, and may have unpredictable consequences. Irresponsible politicos, as it were, national-careerists exploiting the ideas and slogans of renewal and portraying narrow group interests as those of the whole nation, have raised their heads.

Such actions must be rebuffed. It is intolerable to replace freedom with anarchy and violence. The loss of the values uniting our peoples would mean disaster. Those who have embarked on the criminal path or those who promote it should not be tolerated.

A clear dividing line must be drawn between the growth of national self-awareness and nationalism. In countering any manifestations of nationalism, it is important to be sensitive and responsive to all legitimate requirements and aspirations that are national in character.

Above all, we need the undistorted and full truth about the real processes in the development of interethnic relations in the USSR, about the reasons that led to the emergence of acute collisions in interethnic affairs. No "blank spots" must remain. All this is needed in the name of strengthening trust and mutual understanding. Where there are debates and doubts, no effort must be spared to establish the truth on a collective basis.

Today the mass media have a special role. From this stems the increasing responsibility of communists working in radio and television and in the central and local press. Only a profound respect for the national feelings of each people, and at the same time an extremely principled approach in assessing events taking place, can help to overcome the contradictions that have arisen, calm people's minds, and return to the traditional norms of socialist communal life.

It is important to free theoretical thought from a dogmatic approach to the nationalities question. Both the world's and our own experience indicate that the nationalities question always has a specific-historic content. In order to resolve it, there are not and cannot be formulas that suit all instances in life, that are the same at all stages of socialist development and for all regions in the country. Nationalities policy is a continuous creative process and means the ability to respond in a timely fashion to the problems that arise in the sphere of interethnic relations, to find efficient mechanisms to solve conflicts, and to take account of the real dialectics of life's processes.

These are the CPSU's proposals on questions of improving interethnic relations in the USSR and renewing nationalities policy. The examination of them by the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the adoption on this political basis of the necessary legislative acts will impart a new quality to the Soviet Federal State and will provide the conditions for the free development of all the USSR's peoples, and strengthen friendship and cooperation among them.

Further on Draft Plan

LD1608183189 Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] The Soviet Communist Party has made public a draft program of action to renew its nationalities policy and adapt it to the present day conditions. The draft is to be discussed by the forthcoming Central Committee fullscale meeting on nationalities' relations.

Over the past few months the nationalities issue had become a very prominent one. The party maintains related problems can only be resolved within the framework of a revolutionary renewal of Soviet society. The draft suggests that the Soviet federation be restructured into a viable system in which every republic and the entire union have a distinct range of rights and mutual obligations. The Soviet republics should enjoy every right ensuing [as heard] from their status of sovereign socialist states.

They should be allowed to decide all the state and social issues, excluding those which they would choose to delegate to the union. All ethnic groups should be offered broader rights, to, and opportunities for ethnic autonomy, free development of language and culture, and preservation of ethnic traditions. Every group should be effectively guaranteed against ethnic discrimination.

Everything possible should be done to resolve the problems facing Nagorno-Karabakh, the Crimean Tatars, the Volga Germans, as well as the Soviet Greeks, Kurds, Koreans, Meskhetian Turks, and other peoples. Every Soviet citizen must feel at home in any part of the country, and this, according to the draft is the supreme and ultimate goal of the entire work for interethnic harmony.

Moldavian Warning Strike Tied to Languages Law

LD1608175989 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Tiraspol, Moldavia, August 16, Moldavian News Agency—TASS—Work collectives of the Moldavian city of Tiraspol, on the decision of their joint council, held a two-hour warning strike today. The strikers put forward demands connected with draft laws on languages prepared for endorsement by August 29 session of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Only workers of enterprises with the continuous cycle of production and those ensuring the popultion's supply have not participated in the strike. Workers' teams assumed control of areas adjoining industrial premises to maintain public order.

What is it that compelled Tiraspol workers to resort to extreme measures of economic influence?

"The new version of the draft laws on languages met with sharply negative appraisal in Tiraspol which has mostly Russian-speaking population", said B. Shtefan, chairman of the Joint Council of Work Collectives. "Such an approach to language problems that restricts the rights of Russian-speaking population and actually gives advantages to the native nationality runs counter to article 36 of the USSR Constitution. We are of the opinion that the leadership of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government have not kept their promises given at meetings with work collectives of Tiraspol, at a session of the city soviet and at a city meeting of party activists. The participants in warning strikes demanded that the opening of the session of the republic's supreme soviet be put off and that the discussion of a new version of the draft laws on languages be held prior to it with voting on each article by the population in the territories of city, district and village soviets, that the draft laws take into account the proposals of the republic's Russian-speaking population. If the Presidium of Moldavia's Supreme Soviet does not accept our demands, strikes will be continued."

Two-hour warning strikes were also held today at a number of enterprises in Bendery and Rybnitsa. Meetings of solidarity with strikers were held at dozens of factories and plants.

'Insulting' Leaflet on Moldavia Investigated

PM1508130989 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 30 Jul 89 pp 1, 3

[ATEM report: "Extraordinary Session of the Republic's Supreme Soviet"]

[Excerpts] On 29 July there was an extraordinary session of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation. It was opened by Deputy I.K. Cheban, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

The chairman said that deputy V.I. Glebov had addressed a question to G.I. Lavranchuk, chairman of the Moldavian SSR KGB, V.N. Voronin, Moldavian SSR minister of internal affairs, and N.K. Demidenko, the republic's general prosecutor. He said that a leaflet was read out on central television on 27 July that was insulting to the Moldavian nation and conducive to even greater complications in relations among the republic's peoples. I would like to know what is being done to seek out the authors of this leaflet and bring charges against them in line with current Moldavian law. If this case is investigated (and it cannot be otherwise), I ask that deputies be informed of the results at the next session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, and that the public be informed via the republic's mass media.

Deputy G.I. Lavranchuk said that a criminal case has been instituted in this connection and that progress in the investigation will be reported to the next session.

On this point the extraordinary session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, concluded its work.

A stenographic account of the session will be published.

Moldavian 7th Day Adventists Hold Congress

LD1608093989 Moscow TASS in English 0905 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Kishinev August 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Takiy:

Moldavia's Seventh-Day Adventists held a three-day constituent congress in Kishinev, attended by all the 53 Moldavian Adventist communities.

The congress discussed some church issues and formed a permanent organisational structure—the United Conference of the Moldavian Seventh-Day Adventists. Grigorsiy Kochmar was elected its president.

"Our congress is a result of positive changes in this country," Kochmar told TASS. "Many bans and restrictions have been lifted by restructuring, enabling the Adventist Church to fulfil its tasks. We are building and opening new prayer houses in cities and villages, sending young people to study at a newly-opened theological school near Moscow and inviting Seventh-Day Adventists from foreign countries to visit Soviet Moldavia."

"Moldavian Seventh-Day Adventists are grateful for these changes and try to respond to them with good deeds. They work hard at their jobs and play an active part in public life. The adventist communities help city and rural Soviets take care of ill and old people, and also orphans."

"I've been visiting the 7th-day adventists in Moldavia regularly in the past three years and I am very impressed by their achievements," Harold Ottis, member of the Board of the Seventh-Day Adventists General Conference (SDA), told TASS.

"Whenever I come here, I find new signs of improved relations between the state and the church. I felt that the Seventh-Day Adventists in Moldavia, like in other parts of the Soviet Union which I've visited, are sure that restructuring is really allowing them and their church to breathe freely," Ottis said.

Armenian Interior Ministry on 'Interethnic' Crime

NC1708091689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] The following statement has been issued by the Armenian Interior Ministry: According to a report from the USSR Interior Ministry, no criminal acts with interethnic overtones have been reported against the life and [word indistinct] of Armenian citizens living on Azerbaijan territory for the last 2 days. Isolated violations of law and order with interethnic overtones are being quickly put down by Interior Ministry troops.

Leninakan City Party Committee Makes Changes

NC1608150689 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Yerevan, 15 Aug (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian Communist Party's Leninakan City Party Committee (gorkom) plenum met and discussed organizational matters. The plenum relieved M.L. Mkrtchyan from his duties as first secretary of the city party committee in connection with his appointment as the head of the Organizational-Party and Cadre Work Department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

T.G. Sargisyan was elected first secretary of the Leninakan City Party Committee. He had been the first secretary of Leninakan's Moscowyan rayon party committee.

The second secretary and secretary of the Leninakan city party committee were also elected.

O. Lobov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, took part and addressed the plenum.

NKAO Rally Reiterates Demand for Unification

NC1608202189 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] An ARMENPRES correspondent reports from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] that participants in a rally held in Stepanakert on Friday focused their attention on the political situation prevailing in the oblast. Speakers expressed the view that the introduction of special administration in the oblast essentially deprives the independent Armenian entity of the NKAO of even their few remaining rights. They stressed that there is no provision in the USSR Constitution for the termination of the functions of the local soviets and that the USSR Constitution does not reserve any right to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to dissolve the party oblast committee. This is the reason why the introduction of a special administration in NKAO in its present form is not finding support among the communists and a wide section of the population. The participants in the rally demanded the immediate reinstatement of the oblast's party and government bodies. They declared that the NKAO movement has no territorial ambitions. The issue is the reunification, on the basis of national self-determination, of the two parts of the same nation that was forcibly torn asunder by an inhuman and arbitrary decision. The NKAO issue is a national problem and must be solved by political means. The participants also condemned the attempts of certain circles to stifle the intensity of the political struggle for the reunification with Armenia by exerting pressure on the activists of the movement. It is not the leaders who

initiate movements; rather, the people's movement inevitably leads the leaders forward. The speakers called on the people to strengthen their cohesiveness, resist all provocations, and maintain a high degree of orderliness, as well as to show understanding for the local law enforcement bodies and their difficult job. The speakers also spoke about the resumption of the construction work and the need to propagate the Armenian language. A short account was given about the activities of the Amaras charity organization, which is providing invaluable assistance and support to the needy in these difficult days for Artsakh [NKAO]. It was also decided to open the Stepanakert consumer shops for 2 days.

Baku Party Secretaries Discuss Political Training

NC2707075589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] A conference of the secretaries of the primary party organizations in the republic's capital was held on 25 and 26 July. The meeting examined ways to improve the organizational and political training work of the primary party organizations under the conditions of reconstruction. A general meeting was held, at which Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, read a report. He later replied in detail to the many questions put to him by the meeting participants.

Comrades Vagif Guseynov, El'mira Kafarova, Ayaz Mutalibov, and Viktor Polyanichko participated in the general meeting.

Comrades Ratib Zeynalov, Muslim Mamedov, Tel'man Orudzhev, Viktor Polyanichko, Gasan Gasanov, and Vagif Guseynov chaired the divisional meetings held 26 July.

Prosecutions Follow Abkhaziya Unrest

18300773

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian publishes on 27 July on page 3 a 550 word interview with Vakhtang Razmadze, procurator of the Georgian SSR, titled "All Who Are Guilty Will Be Punished." The interview, conducted by Georgiy Adamadze and Tamaz Lomadze in Sukhumi, deals with the legal prosecutions arising from the recent events in Abkhaziya. When asked how all the trouble started, Razmadze answers that "we are studying this now. One thing is certain: This was no sudden explosion. Problems have been building up for years because for years political work here has been carried out incorrectly." When asked by the interviewers about the criminal proceedings that have been brought against several of the leaders, Razmadze states that "at present more than 50 criminal cases have been instituted. One of them is for stirring up interethnic dissension. Right now it involves several people, and we don't kow how many more will be uncovered in the course of the investigation." Questioned about the rumor that arms are being shipped into the area, Razmadze replies that it has been confirmed that armed men have been moving from one region to another and that "preliminary investigation shows that leaders of relatively high rank are involved in this." He also states that a special investigator from the USSR Procuracy is working to discover who it was that murdered the servicemen. "We have detained suspects and I think that in several days we will be able to name the criminal....I would like to assure both Georgians and Abkhazians that the investigation of all these cases will be conducted objectively. Those who are responsible for the tragedy will soon stand trial and will face the full severity of the law for what they have done."

Estonian Leaders View Financial, Ethnic Situation

LD2807160189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1848 GMT on 27 July broadcasts a 60-minute recorded program entitled "What Is Happening in Estonia?" The announcer says the program was filmed "a few days ago," and centers on an interview with Vyno Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and with Arnold Ryuytel, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The program starts with a film clip of a mass demonstration on 10 June 1988 in favor of Estonian autonomy. The republican party's inactivity and silence on these matters led to Karl Vayno being replaced as Estonian Communist Party first secretary by Vyalyas. A film clip shows Indrek Toome, secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, addressing a mass meeting and promising development of the national culture.

Over picturesque views of Tallinn, the announcer notes: "In this ancient city every little corner has been filmed probably hundreds of times; and therefore, people—even those who have not been here—easily recognize it on the cinema and television screen. But it was precisely here, in this city which is so well known to everyone, that we heard the expression 'info-blockade'—information blockade. Surely there is no shortage of information. Rumors are circulating in the country: The Estonians are separating themselves; they have already introduced their own currency; you cannot buy anything from there, only Estonian citizens can; storm troop units have been set up; they are probably training their own army; the people's front is heating up the situation; Russians are being told to leave. Obviously, as is now being said, this atmosphere is to someone's advantage. But is it not simpler to find out what is happening in Estonia first hand, from the inhabitants of Estonia itself?"

Vyalyas and Ryuytel are then shown being interviewed by commentators Yu. Nikiforov and R. Delman. Vyalyas explains the concept of financial autonomy in Estonia and Ryuytel briefly adds a comment on what perestroyka means to him.

Switching to a classroom, economist N. Chelokompets describes the emotions that Estonians feel when they talk about economic independence, using a diagram illustrating the tasks for economic growth in the republic. "Real incomes of the working people continue to fall," he says, "and if you add adjustments of approximately 4 percent for inflation, then overall there is no growth at all. That's what worries us."

The scene switches to a hall where Ryuytel is seen addressing a meeting. He tells them that poor use is being made of the republic's economic potential and that full financial autonomy is the only way forward.

At the House of Political Education of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, Deputy Yarovoy answers questions from the audience on Estonia's cooperation with other towns and republics under the new conditions and about the people's front's contribution to unrest in other parts of the USSR. People's Deputy Kogan reads out a question regarding his proposed speech to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and its publication in IZVESTIYA.

Returning to the interview with Nikiforov, Vyalyas replies to a question about the fears of Russian-speaking inhabitants in Estonia that their rights will be infringed because of this new program. He says "there can on no account be any infringement of the rights of any groups of the Estonian population, especially of the laws on the rights of nationalities."

Returning to the House of Political Education, Kogan is asked whether a person can renounce Estonian citizenship and become a citizen of the USSR. He says: To be honest, there should be no discriminatory restrictions on citizenship, but he has not seen anything official about this.

The question of citizenship is then taken up by Ryuytel in the Nikiforov interview. The essence of his reply is that this should not be a problem: We should all want to work better in order to live better. A law is now being worked out in the republic that should meet the requirements of our society. Vyalyas returns to the subject of the use of Russian in the republic. He stresses that respect should be shown for both Estonian and Russian, or the language of whatever republic one may be in, and he uses quotes from PRAVDA and Lenin to back up his argument.

After a brief interlude showing Estonians at play and going about their everyday business, the program returns to Chelokompets and his diagrams. He talks about Estonia's imports and exports: 90 percent of enterprises in the republic are not subordinate to the local authorities. "So we now want to produce everything ourselves—we are aware of our potential—to sell and buy, export and import, and for a certain part of the revenue, in the form of a tax, to be centralized in Moscow. There will be no dictatorship by the central authorities over us. We shall implement all our own economic and financial operations independently. That is the meaning of financial autonomy."

Seated in his office, R. Otsason, deputy chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, enlarges on the republic's export-import system and how the concept of financial autonomy was born. He reads from the USSR Constitution and the article about sovereignty of republics. He concludes: "Republican financial autonomy will serve as a powerful engine in further development of the integrational processes in the Soviet Union, and the whole present dispute—I stress present—with the central economic departments in the USSR is not about whether republican financial autonomy is good or bad, but about how economic relations can be established between the republics—through the center, the central apparatus, as has been the case up to now—and how some people very much want things to continue, or to decentralize this process and enable the republics themselves to establish their own economic relations."

In an interview with an Estonian Television commentator, Vyalyas says there has been a serious crisis of confidence in the party's leadership in Estonia. "You may ask—and people have—are we overcoming this crisis? By no means, by no means. And this doesn't just concern Estonia. We have a great deal to do to ensure that the party's authority is what it really should be." He goes on to quote Lenin's words that the party justifies its role when it fulfills the will of the people. Asked whether the Estonian people can feel safe about their future, he concludes: "I would say yes; that is how it must be, because protection of the people is the first thing that a law-based state must have, and if we permit processes to occur that present a danger to this most important thing, then we are not doing our job. We must have the courage to say that, alas, we have not justified the confidence of the people and we must bring in other people, although this does sound severe. "I can say with confidence, and you can see for yourselves, that there have been no cases of hooliganism or extremism or clashes on an interethnic basis, although there are very many problems here," Vyalyas concludes.

Latvian Supreme Soviet on Citizenship Law

18001479 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 2

[Draft Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR on implementation of the Latvian SSR law "Regarding Latvian SSR Citizenship"]

[Text] 1. After the law "Regarding Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Citizenship" goes into effect, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR will form temporary commissions on citizenship matters composed of soviets of people's deputies of rayons, cities, and city rayons, which—on the basis of specific criteria determined in this law, documentary data about

residence permits, and other data—will resolve questions pertaining to Latvian SSR citizenship for all persons having permanent residence on the territory of the applicable soviet.

2. Decisions of the temporary commissions of local soviets on questions of citizenship will be made on special blanks, a sample of which is attached to this resolution.

3. Initial collection of materials and preparation of decisions of the temporary commissions of local soviets on citizenship will be done by internal affairs organs.

4. The processing of materials and entry of Latvian SSR citizenship into passports for persons having permanent residence or temporarily present outside the borders of the USSR will be done by consular organs of the USSR or the Latvian SSR.

5. Decisions of the temporary commissions of local soviets of people's deputies on citizenship questions or of consular organs may be appealed to the commission on citizenship questions of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR.

6. Commissions of local soviets of people's deputies must decide citizenship matters for the entire population living in the territory under the given soviet's purview within no more than 1 year from the coming into effect of this law, after which the commissions are dissolved.

7. Persons who under the law "regarding Latvian SSR citizenship" may be recognized as citizens of the Latvian SSR and who have their permanent residence outside the Latvian SSR, within the course of a year from the passage of the law must apply to the the consular organs of the USSR or of the Latvian SSR abroad, or to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR with a request to confirm to them their holding of Latvian SSR citizenship by issuing them a Soviet passport, or by entering a notation about their Latvian SSR citizenship in the Soviet passport.

8. Governmental organs of the Latvian SSR may require the petitioner to present documentary evidence of Latvian SSR citizenship. After examining the pertinent documents and after a positive decision of the question of citizenship, an entry pertaining to Latvian SSR citizenship is placed in the passport of the applicant. An answer to the applicant must be given in the course of 1 month from the time of submission of the documents.

9. In the event of a refusal to recognize a person as a citizen of the Latvian SSR, or his missing the deadline for application indicated in point 7 of this resolution, his obtaining Latvian SSR citizenship can be done only in compliance with title 3 of the law "Regarding Latvian SSR Citizenship"

10. The application of rules contained in section 22 of the law "Regarding Latvian SSR Citizenship" on knowledge of the Latvian language begins 3 years after the effective date of the law.

11. Before being granted citizenship in the Latvian SSR and also before receiving a passport denoting citizenship in the republic, the applicant is required to sign a declaration as follows:

"I, (last name, first name, patronymic, year and place of birth, and permanent residence), in connection with obtaining citizenship in the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, obligate myself to observe the Constitution and laws of the Latvian SSR, respect the Latvian nation's right to self-determination, and recognize its nationhood. Being a patriot of the Latvian SSR, I intend to give my strength to the reinforcement of its sovereignty, the building of economic welfare, and the flowering of culture, and I intend to tie my future to it forever."

[Signed] Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR
Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR

State Aid Urged for Lithuanian Language Group

LD1608132089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 30 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with Chairman of the Lithuanian Language Association Albertas Rosinas by Milda Augulyte: "State Patronage for—State Language"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Three months have elapsed since the founding of the Lithuanian Language Association. One cannot turn over mountains in that length of time. However, scattered throughout the entire republic, association enthusiasts have not been sitting idle. First accomplishments and plans for future endeavors are discussed by the chairman of the association, Albertas Rosinas.

[Augulyte] Looking at today's existence and reading the current press, one may get the inpression that individuals of other nationalities, in Lithuania, have become the most active since the announcement of the Law Concerning Lithuanian Language Use. The vitality of the language will not depend on them, however, but on our attitude, mood and efforts. How does the Lithuanian Language Association plan to foster the language, raise its prestige, and help people to learn to speak it and write it correctly?

[Rosinas] Our association's groups already exist in various Lithuanian cities and rayons and are joined by individuals of various professions, who are not indifferent to their native tongue and are concerned about its

present and its future. I will not exaggerate by saying every Lithuanian should become either an association member or its supporter—since there will be enough work for everyone.

Nine commissions have been formed, already: organization, school, public speaking, press, terminology, advertising and video information, language norm problems, publishing, dialect, and place name commissions. They have prepared their programs, which encompass all phases of language use. [passage omitted]

For instance, the school commission, together with teachers of Lithuanian, have decided to requalify textbooks, hold Lithuanian language olympiads, and set up a program in the schools for the general development of language culture, so that the language might be spoken correctly, not only by Lithuanian language teachers, but also by, historians, mathematicians, and physicists. [passage omitted]

The dialect and place name commission urges all farmers to emulate the example of Kriukai Kolkhoz [collective farm] in Sakiai Rayon, in raising from oblivion old place names and giving them to farms and their divisions.

Dialect researchers, especially those researching rural residents, will need assistance in documenting the quickly changing people's language lexicon, phraseology and syntax. Later, this material will provide dialectual dictionaries, of which we have only three.

The most active, to date, are the terminologists; they have already held a scientific conference, in the course of which they have discussed questions of selection and norms of technical terminology and have started to found terminology banks and establish a terminological consultation center.

We would like to be allotted in the daily republic newspaper's "Panorama" section several lines—a minute or two. We would teach all of Lithuania to eliminate errors, would train them to be constantly aware of the spoken and the written word, not being satisfied with the proverb, "No matter what you call it, you won't spoil it." If, in the course of a year, the nation were to learn several scores of correct words and forget some of the barbarisms and boring stock phrases, some progress will have been made.

The associartion plans to have its own periodical publication, in the future. For the time being, it will acquire under its jurisdiction MUSU KALBA, starting with its fourth issue.

[Augulyte] The Lithuanian Language Association did not appear in a desolate area. The Monument Protection and Ethnography Associations' language sections, two periodicals dedicated to language culture practice, the publication "Language Practice suggestions," etc...have been in existence for 20 years. The social language culture did not improve, however, but, to the contrary, was losing ground instead.

Is there any hope that from now on things will be different?

[Rosinas] Exhortations to treasure the language and advice and recommendations by linguists, in truth, often became a voice in the wilderness—people did not hear it, or else, often did not wish to hear it. There were many reasons for such a situation and they are now being discussed and written about, at great length. However, possibly most important were deformations of national policy and of spiritual values, and depreciation of national language among them. This continued for many years and cannot be changed in one sweep.

The Lithuanian Language Association will revive, with every means at its disposal, language consciousness and competency, will stress language spirituality and nationalism, and will nurture the understanding that language is not simply a means of communication, but is also an expression of the national spirit. [passage omitted]

[Augulyte] Linguists make many complaints against the press, and also against TIESA. Stylists and experienced editors clean up the rough copy; however, considerable amounts of trash still find their way into the pages. In addition, TIESA prints a great many Lithuanian party organs' and government decisions and documents, as well as texts of speeches delivered at plenums and congresses. We kept quiet about this, formerly, but now we must be honest about this: Language used in official writings is deplorable. It would be of interest to find out if there are any Lithuanian Language Association groups located in administrative offices.

[Rosinas] The general culture of a language is supported not just by individual language experts, editors, and stylists, but also by society as a whole, and each of its individual members. If we wish to be a cultured nation, we must get rid, by any means possible, of obsolete language characteristics and change our attitude toward language, in general.

Restructuring and rebirth are teaching us to speak Lithuanian at official get-togethers and news conferences, which is not so simple, without the benefit of pencil and pad, for many a recent orator who has been steeped in other old traditions. Thus, the "thin question on fast hands" and other "pearls" are spread throughout the entire republic. This also can be said of language used in writing.

The only advice I can offer to everyone is to learn correct, stylistically sound native language, call upon the Lithuanists for assistance, and more frequently open some dictionaries and special language issues.

Editorial Postscript. When we heard last fall first exhortations for the re-establishment of the Lithuanian Language Association, we did not doubt it would probably become the largest and most informal organization that would arouse all of Lithuania. This hope was reinforced by a daily influx of letters to the editorial office, while the Lithuanian Language Law Draft was being deliberated, and meetings and pickets strongly urging protection and development of the language. Such profusion of beautiful words in Lithuanian has virtually not been heard since the days of M. Dauksa and the Ausrininkai.

Now is time to make the change from words into action. How is the Lithuanian word doing? [passage omitted]

Many of the problems that existed before the Lithuanian language became the state language still exist. Public speaking is limping along and jargon still emanates from radio, television, and theater, and mistakes corrected a thousand times over still abound in the periodical press. It appears that no one but the linguists is concerned about this. Linguists and the association leadership alone, even with the best of intentions, will be unable to accomplish anything since everything must be started from scratch. There appears no indication, however, of the public's concern in this matter.

Even with the best of intentions, the linguists and association leadership will not be able to accomplish anything, especially in view of the fact that everything needs to be started from scratch, so to speak. There is no real concern on the part of the public that is evident, however. The indifference evidenced by youth, on whom the future of the language depends, is most depressing. To date, no higher school students have established a Lithuanian language group. Some of the rayons are apparently awaiting orders, in this regard, from the "mighty center," republican, in this case. Among them can be listed not only Salcininkai, Svencionys and Sirvintai, but also, Lazdijai, Plunge, Kaisiadorys....

The decision, by the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers, "On Measures To Ensure Lithuanian SSR State Language Use," clearly indicates that ministries, departments and city and rayon executive committees are to assist the Lithuanian Language Association, in every manner, in organizing and developing its activities. It would be undesirable to have this document become empty-worded. The state language needs state patronage. [passage omitted]

New Lithuanian 'Humanists' Party Formed

LD1608133189 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Another party has been founded in Lithuania. It's the Lithuanian Party of Humanists and Progress. The basis of its activity is the establishment of an independent Lithuanian state and a multiparty system. The weekly GIMTASIS KRASTAS acquaints the readers with the party's regulations. The Lithuanian Party of Humanists and Progress refers to the 1948 United Nations Declaration on Human Rights as the basis of its political rights. It also comes out for abolishing state censorship.

Lithuanian Poles Call for Greater Representation

AU2707121589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jul 89 p 5

[Report signed 'zlo': "Resolution and Message From Lithuanian Poles"]

[Text] The Polish-language daily CZERWONY SZTANDAR [RED STANDARD], which appears in Lithuania, has printed a resolution, message, and appeal from the First Congress of the Union of Poles in Lithuania. According to this resolution, the old Sociocultural Association of Poles in Lithuania, attached to the Lithuanian Cultural Foundation, has been renamed the Union of Poles in Lithuania.

The resolution stresses that the "Union of Poles in Lithuania considers one of the chief goals of its activity to be a revitalization of the social, economic, and cultural development of the Vilnius region as part of the national rebirth of the Poles living here, this rebirth being an integral part of the national rebirth of Lithuanians.

"We are Poles. We are brothers. We live in various countries, but we have one fatherland—Poland," the resolution continues. "We call on our countrymen the world over to see to it that these very values assume first place among the world's Polish family, and that they encourage the idea of national unity."

The resolution suggests to the Lithuanian authorities that they should appoint at every level of authority standing committees for the affairs of national minorities, consisting of representatives of these minorities, and that proportions between the different minorities should be closely observed when selecting representatives to fill these committees.

The resolution speaks bitterly about the laws of the 1930's which "placed the Polish population outside the law and provided the basis for mass persecution" of Poles in the USSR. The resolution also notes with concern the present attitude of some Lithuanian circles vis-a-vis the Poles, saying that "an anti-Polish campaign has been waged in some Lithuanian-language press titles. Access to the columns of the most widely-read press titles has been won by irresponsible people who are far removed from any desire for mutual understanding, tolerance, and dialogue; people who hold pseudohistorical theories about the origin of Poles in Lithuania and who deny them their basic rights as a distinct ethnic group."

The resolution also calls for the relay of Polish Television to areas of Lithuania that are inhabited by Poles, longer broadcasting hours for Polish-language programs on Lithuanian Television, and additional educational and children's programs in Polish. Because most of the Polish community in Lithuania is religious, the resolution asks the Lithuanian church authorities to expand the training of Polish clergymen in Lithuania.

In a message to their countrymen in Poland and beyond, the members of the congress said that "supreme values—a feeling of belonging to a nationality—transcend all divisions, all borders and distances."

However, in a message to the Lithuanian people, the congress says: "On behalf of the roughly 300,000 Poles living in Lithuania, the first congress of Poles in Lithuania sends you fraternal greetings. We wish to convey to you our support and approval for the national rebirth of Lithuanians." However, this message does not gloss over thorny issues. "We are convinced," says the document, "that the absence of mutual understanding, tolerance, and trust between Lithuanians and Poles in Lithuania is temporary. As patriots of our joint homeland, Lithuania, we must achieve and will achieve understanding."

The appeal to Poles in Lithuania points out the historic significance of the emergence of the Union of Poles in Lithuania, saying: "We have written the slogan 'the land of our fathers—our land' on our banner. We have the right to expect this land to be kinder to us. On our part, we will not spare our strength for the welfare of this land, with respect and tolerance for everyone who lives here."

Former Paratroopers Riot in Vilnius 3 Aug

LD0708090389 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] On 3d August night a riot flared up in Gediminas Avenue in Vilnius and later transferred to the cathedral square. The hooligans attempted to provoke disorders in other places as well but were stopped by militia units. There are wounded people. That night a group of around 30 young men, formerly military paratroopers and now workers at Vilnius plants were raging in the city. In the (?pubs) they marked a paratroopers' day, which officially is not a red letter day, and then picked up a fight with taxi drivers and passersby. Such deeds of former paratroopers in many Soviet cities is not a novelty.

Historian Views Effect of 1939 Soviet-German Pact

LD1408174489 Moscow TASS in English 1654 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—The Soviet-German non-aggression pact of August 23, 1939, changed nothing in Hitler's plans, which had become definite long before political talks between the two countries, according to Nina Smirnova, a leading researcher from the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of Universal History.

She told TASS that the war could have been stopped by a military confrontation which was mooted at Anglo-Franco-Soviet talks in June-August 1939 but made impossible by "the irreconcilable position of the then British Government".

Smirnova also pointed out the tragic role of the Munich agreement in this respect.

She took issue with some political scientists trying to make it appear as though the August 23 pact and the secret protocol to it had "entitled" the USSR to "occupy" the Baltic region.

"Neither the agreement itself nor the secret protocol give any grounds for claiming this. Formally, the matter at issue was delimiting the spheres of mutual interests. Specifically, it was agreed that the Germans would not cross an agreed line and would not project their political influence beyond it," Smirnova said.

"The fact that the discussion of developments preceding World War II has lately begun to assume an objective nature in the USSR testifies to greater glasnost launched by perestroyka," the scientist added.

In this connection she stressed the significance of a commission which has been formed by the Congress of People's Deputies to pronounce a political and legal judgement on the Soviet-German non-aggression pact of 1939.

'Barrier' to Belorussian People's Front Decried

18300761 Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Jul 89 p 2

[Article by S. Vaganov (Minsk): "The Line of the Front"]

[Text] A people's front was created in Belorussia and immediately a "dangerous topic" appeared. Incidentally, it appeared on 19 October of last year when its organizing committee was formed. And one must say that the local press did not pass this event by. During the 8 months of activity, the organizing committee has produced a mass of publications whose tone and content might well be designated by a set of homogeneous epithets: "pretenders," "scum," "extremists," "nationalists"...

And when the front's founding congress was held, BELTA [Belorussian News Agency] reported it to us in a note under the heading "Searching for the Path to Dialogue." This note, like a number of subsequent publications, was built on facts which, as they say, did occur. But nonetheless, concerning the position of those who have done everything they could to impede the creation of a new social organization and who have sidestepped an analysis of the actual reasons for the "standoff," it is said that they are not completely objective for nothing. Only one party is called to the dialogue and it takes all the blame for the lack of it....

Well, an appeal for dialogue is undoubtedly correct. But let us try to analyze the course of events from October of last year until recently, the end of June, and the congress of the BNF [Belorussian People's Front], which culminated with a fact that is impressive in and of itself: The congress was held...outside the republic—in Vilnius! And here, if you please: Some people have already christened it the "congress in exile"; an aura almost of "martyrs for the idea" arose around its delegates; and the political and social significance of the event itself became too clouded for an in-depth, sober, and careful analysis.

Yet, we are dealing not with a fact, and not even with an event, but a process that has its own sources and its own complex direction. It is possible to prevent a meeting, to drive away its participants, and to fine the organizers. It is possible to declare the congress itself a "persona non grata" and give the appearance that nothing special is happening. But it is impossible to eliminate from social life the process that was brought to the surface by perestroyka itself, even if some of us do not like it. Overt and covert attempts of this type are, to say the least, shortsighted, and in spite of verbal appeals for dialogue, they lead to a situation where mutual ambitions take the upper hand over positions, and the struggle of ideas and opinions that is so natural and necessary for the development of democracy is replaced from one side or the other by insults or else a mindless application of force. In all of this one can see a clear surplus of emotion and a clear shortage of wisdom.

What is going on here? Why are the creation and activity of people's fronts given support in certain regions while in others the attitude toward them is limited to a restrained understanding and in still others, like here in Belorussia, in certain circles they are met at the point of a bayonet?

We must recall once again certain events of 30 October of last year, this day of remembrance of the forefathers of Dayada which is traditional for Belorussians, although pretty well forgotten (like many of the other indigenous native customs). Under the fabricated pretext of "a lack of such a tradition among Minsk residents" the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] prohibited the "meeting-requiem" scheduled for that day. And the police, of course, with the knowledge and coordination of parties who wish to remain anonymous, drove it out with force that was "not adequate to the degree of public danger," as the USSR minister of internal affairs subsequently asserted. Which, translated into everyday language that everyone can understand, means only one thing: Fear hath a hundred eyes.

What were they afraid of?

"They are straining for power," think the outspoken opponents of the people's front. What power are we talking about? And who are "they"? In answering these questions, of course, it is possible to take the simplest path—along with those, for example, who argue that, under the guise of sharp, exaggerated criticism of personal particulars, the "pretenders" are just trying to take over their jobs, Volgas, and so forth, for which there is a good deal of justification.

But it seems that everything is much deeper, and certainly not in places where certain "fighters for social justice," deliberately or not so deliberately, look for causes for prolonged confrontation. The actual reasons can be seen fairly clearly, in my view, in the interview granted to the central press by a leader of republic rank at the end of last year. In that interview he announced—apparently by chance, since no one asked him about it—that "Belorussia hardly needs such a people's front. The more so since the republic has a stable social and economic situation and the government is implementing the policy of perestroyka promptly and intelligently." This was published under the heading "Official Opinion."

And indeed why shake up a "stable situation" and undermine the authority of a "prompt and intelligent government"? Would it not be better to "contribute to the work" under its leadership?... Of course it would. But it will hardly be perestroyka if it, this revolution, is reduced merely to this formula.

No one will dispute that in government and other management organs of the republic there are many prompt, literate, and intelligent people who are capable of active political and management activity. But I assume that such people are also to be found among the organizers and participants in the new sociopolitical movement. By the same token, in both places there are plenty of selfish, power-hungry careerists, demagogues, and goldbrickers for whom nothing is sacred.

But so what? Where, for example, can one find a social organization that consists exclusively of squeaky clean, ideologically and morally "sterile" people? The power of any of them lies in their ability to purify themselves, and this certainly does not mean a purge or something worse. Self-purification is an essentially democratic process. Purification of oneself. Everyone. And thus one can maintain an atmosphere of free expression of will in which there is no place for fear, which means also that there is no place for dictatorship, slavish toadying, careerism... And uncompromised conscience and thought can breathe freely in it.

And when you ask the question of what is keeping these intelligent, literate, honest people on both sides of the fence (with a certain conventionality of this division into "sides") from listening to and understanding one another and entering into cooperation, you will find the answer in the difference in their positions and in the extremely rigid system of what one might call corporate thinking that is inherent in each of the "sides" and rejects tolerance of different ideas and the possibility of coming together and mutual enrichment.

At the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, held literally on the eve of the congress of the people's front, the appeals for "steadfastness, adherence to principles, and firmness" clearly outweighed the advice to show understanding and to enter on the path to dialogue. Symptoms of the old disease of intolerance were also clearly manifested at the congress of the people's front, where behind the stormy outbursts of meeting democracy one could clearly sense a desire to set the limits of "different" thoughts. For example, all a working chap from Mogilev had to do was suggest that they discuss more attentively the question of the official status of the national language before shouts began to ring out: "Provocateur!..." Is this not "democratic?" And from the Presidium there ensued an extremely firm reminder that the approach to solving this problem, "which unites all of us," is not subject to discussion. Why not?...

They say that power lies in unity. This is true if one does not forget that its nature is also conditioned by the means by which it is achieved. Otherwise, the minute you turn your back the power of unity has turned into the unity of power. Essentially, into weakness...

This is why the question of authority is not so farfetched. Is the people's front overly zealous for it? It would seem so. But unlike those who see the fear of God in this zeal, I see a complex phenomenon that requires serious analysis. The front's program documents do not discuss the authority of the apparatus but formulate the task of "contributing to the establishment of real democracy in the BSSR [Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic]—the authority of the soviets elected democratically."

They should raise the same question before the party. But is it really capable of resolving it without public support? And real support, expressed not just with approval, but also constructive criticism of various of its positions, actions, and steps. How, actually, does one provide for real unity of the party and the people, and not the kind that is devised in the offices, unity that is based on actual feedback?

It all seems clear. Nonetheless, attempts to arrange this kind of connection are regarded by certain ideologists as nothing other than attempts to create an opposition structure. And they usually refer to the neighboring Lithuania where "Sajudis has a hand in everything."

Belorussia is not Lithuania. While in Lithuania the democratic process is national in form—there are reasons for this, reasons reflected in the nature of the misgivings raised concerning its development—in Belorussia, as we see, the social principle prevails. But there is a great deal that links our peoples in their unfortunate history, culture, and economies as well. We should encourage this relationship and mutual influence which, in my view, would help a great deal to separate the wheat from the chaff and would reinforce that which contributes to creativity and not destruction... But no. A solid wall of suspicion is being erected on a foundation of outdated ideological postulates.

I am convinced that nothing good will come of this, just as nothing useful will come of the barrier that is being placed on the path of the people's front, whose positions are persistently distorted in the official press so that they are forced to resort to samizdat and the printing services of the neighboring republics. And in general, nothing will come of this. It is already failing.

Those who are placing this barrier are resorting to a worn-out method: They publish "unmasking" articles and the resolutions of certain meetings where, unfortunately, one can perceive the formula "I did not read it, I do not know, but I condemn it." Incidentally, it is not difficult to see and assess superficial manifestations of this "struggle." But its real goal lies deeper. "Just look," many people gloated during the days of the pre-election campaign, "If we do not put up a barrier, they will sneak their people into the power organs."

They have already "sneaked" them in. One can even name a couple of them who won victories in Minsk in the elections for USSR people's deputies: Stanislav Shushkevich, for example, who is a nuclear physicist and pro-rector of a university; or the popular economist Aleksandr Zhuravlev; or the investigator of the republic procurator's office Nikolay Ignatovich, who is widely known for having "untangled" the notorious "Vitebsk affair." The people's front also campaigned for them. The Mogilev worker Sergey Gabrusev also won.

So are they "our own" or "others""? How about Vasil Bykov, the soul and conscience of the movement and one of its organizers? Is the archaeologist Zenon Poznyak, one of the leaders of the front who discovered the Kuropat tragedy, our own or the others"?

So what gives us justification for accusing these people of being "pretenders," of "nationalism," or even of "anti-Sovietism" or various other "anti's" of varying degrees? Their adherence to the ideas of national regeneration? But these ideas did not arise out of nowhere...

Anti-Sovietism?... No, I have not read in the front's program or heard in the statements of the delegates to the congress even a hint of a rejection of Soviet power. Although, possibly, there are among the people who attach themselves to the movement those who do not like Soviet power. But when it is real and authentic is it really to the liking of those who have become accustomed to seeing in it an obedient servant of the administrative-command system?

Or you hear this: "They have appropriated the right to speak for the people..."

Come come! This is a move for political intriguers, but certainly not for the popular writer Vasiliy Bykov who has the kind of power over the minds and hearts of people that others concerned about the people's interests have never even dreamed of. And the congress of the people's front rejected political speculation by approving the policy principle according to which neither social organizations nor individual citizens "have the right to speak on behalf of all the people without legal authorization to do so."

I should like to see the position of the trade unions be more independent and flexible with respect to the people's front and its program. It is not difficult to see that a number of goals set by the two social organizations coincide. Take the problems of health protection, ecology, culture, and the most crucial problem of eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

Of course, certainly one cannot agree with everything in the policy of the people's front, especially the desire to cut and not untie the confused knots and to solve the most complicated problems at a level of political emotion.

Nor do I accept the animosity with which some participants in the movement defend their positions. Animosity dictates a line of behavior that is far from the line proclaimed by the front itself. One must speak about the lack of correspondence between the declarations and the attempts to bureaucratize a movement the idea of which is democratic or, in spite of the proclaimed priority of social and legal problems over ethnic ones, attempts to press for the solutions to the latter. And this is in a situation of ethnic indignation and dissatisfaction that is extremely unstable and fraught with unpredictable consequences. All this evokes quite understandable misgivings and makes political predictions more difficult. When darkness lies ahead, judgment based on suspicion takes the upper hand. But history has taught us a lesson: Judgment based on suspicions is unfair judgment.

The reader has a right to ask: What position does the author hold? In public and private discussions of this problem I have already heard warnings: One cannot sit in two boats at the same time. But we have only one boat! And we are all in the same boat. It is just that we are all behaving differently in the stormy sea of democratization. Some are panicking while others are calmly waiting, quietly putting on their life jackets; others are trying to steer against the current, while still others are raising the sails and sailing free. And others are grabbing the ores and... rowing. Alas, they have not yet found a unified coordinated rhythm...

Coordination—this is what we are lacking today. We need a different instrument for gleaning the truth besides suspicion. We need trust, in everyone who has gotten into the boat and started rowing—not just to further themselves, of course, but those who are seeking rhythm and coordination in this difficult work, removing suspicion regarding the intentions of the oarsmen.

Kirghiz Party Discusses Agrarian 'Failings'

LD2807195489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Today a plenum of the Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee discussed the tasks of the republican party organization in implementing the decisions by the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the agrarian policy of the CPSU in modern conditions. In a report by Masaliyev, first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee and in other speeches, positive trends in the industry were noted, but the participants concentrated particular attention on failings. The discussion concerned the fact that individual raykoms are poorly implementing the decisions of the primary party organizations on farms and enterprises of the agro-industrial complex. There is not the necessary supervision of the punctual execution of tasks by the bureaus and departments of the Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee. All this tells on the end results of labor, in particular on the resolution of social, cultural, and ecological problems, and the reconstruction of villages.

The plenum held a detailed discussion on steps to improve the activity of communists and to accelerate their organizational work in the main areas of perestroyka in the agrarian sector.

Problems of Ethnic Germans in Turkmenia Noted

LD1008213489 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Ashkhabad August 11 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Shakhnazarov:

What do nine thousand ethnic Germans residing in Soviet Turkmenia expect from the work on the commission on problems of ethnic Germans in the USSR? On the instruction of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies this commission was formed at the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

I decided to put this question to the Millers couple residing in a collective farm settlement not far from the city of Bairam Ali in the south of Turkmenia. Close to the Millers' house there are houses of Turkmenians, Russians, Kazakhs, Baluchis, Berbers. And this is not unusual for the republic whose population consists of people of more than 100 nations and nationalities. In this sense the collective farm is a model of an interethnic populated centre in which ethnic Germans live in the USSR.

Beginning the conversation the head of the household, 36-year-old Erich Miller, an electrician expressed the opinion that the problem of ethnic Germans in the USSR should not be viewed apart from the situation that developed in interethnic relations in the whole country.

"One should not act to the detriment of the interests of other peoples. This would not be goodneighbourly," Ella Miller, an accountant, joined in. She is of the opinion that not harming the interests of other peoples is the principle to be applied to the solution of the main question in the commission's work connected with the restoration of the autonomy of ethnic Germans. Ella's parents, Germans residing in the Volga area, were among those Germans who were expelled from native places at the beginning of the war. Ella holds that historic justice should be restored. She is of the opinion that this will help solve in a comprehensive way many problems, specifically those connected with promotion of ethnic Germans to leading posts: party, government, managerial.

Even though ethnic German are recognised masters in livestock breeding and mechanisation in the collective farm, there is not a single German among the 18 team leaders in the collective farm. Germans do not hold higher managerial posts in the region either.

The conversation touched upon the preservation and development of the language and culture of ethnic Germans in the USSR. Though broadcasting in German increased in the country and the press started giving a fuller coverage of the life of ethnic Germans and more books in German are being published, the changes are not always felt immediately in the provinces. Despite difficulties the Millers are unanimous in the view that the Soviet Union is their home. They never had the wish to leave the USSR. Incidentally, the number of applications for exit from citizens of the German nationality in the visa office at the republic's Interior Ministry decreased by half this year.

Erich and Ella Miller hope that the forthcoming plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on interethnic relations will help work out a more effective policy in tackling ethnic problems.

Ryzhkov on Supreme Soviet Review of Appointees

18001473 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 29 17-23 Jul 89 pp 1,3

[Interview with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by NEDELYA correspondent Aleksandr Yevseyev: "The USSR Government: Appointments Have Been Made, Vacancies Remain"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Yevseyev] How do you assess the results of the 3-week discussions of the composition of the government you proposed in the Supreme Soviet?

[Ryzhkov] I give what has happened here a positive assessment. Do the final results agree with my predictions? When it comes to the personal composition of the government, they almost coincide, although I think that under certain conditions certain people who have not been elected ministers could work in this capacity today. But let us put it this way: A certain situation has developed that has influenced the fact that they do not have positions today.

[Yevseyev] We have frequently wondered if certain candidates were nominated without justification....

[Ryzhkov] Some have been. Two or three for each post. But I do not wish to name names. We do not want to offend people. They have strayed off the path and there is no need to throw stones at them.

Concerning the approval of the candidates, I had different predictions. I thought that after the discussions in the commissions this process would go more rapidly and I had no idea that such extensive discussions would develop around each candidacy. Although, of course, I did not doubt that they would arise around certain candidates, but not around all of them. I think that here I was not the only one who made a mistake; apparently, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet did not expect such stormy debates either.

[Yevseyev] Did it not seem to you that the participants in these discussions were sometimes too emotional when making decisions?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, what happened, happened. And it happened that the emotions burst out, unfortunately, at the end of the voting. But by the end of the debates it seemed to me that the deputies had become more restrained in their evaluations and had understood that emotions were not the main assistance in such serious state affairs.

[Yevseyev] Do you think that the very nature of the discussion when the attention of the deputies was fixed not only on the personality of the candidate but also on the situation that had developed in the branch of which he would be in charge presupposed not altogether correct assessments of his personality?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, sometimes the personality of the candidate actually did recede into the background, which does not seem quite right to me. For it is necessary to determine first of all whether or not this person is capable of taking charge of the matter we have decided to entrust him with, although again, naturally, during the discussions much was also said about the problems of either the branch he was already running or the one he was to take charge of. You will agree that only a superficial, very naive person would draw conclusions without looking into the situation that has developed in the given area of our life. Therefore, it also happened that how heated the discussion was was certainly not linked directly to the "person discussed." You will recall how they approved Kondrat Zigmundovich Terekh for the post of trade minister and what a stormy discussion developed at that time. Of course, all this pertained only indirectly to Terekh himself. The attitude of the people and the deputies toward our trade as a whole and toward

the disorder and shortcomings in its work that people are constantly encountering also broke through. Although later, when the voting began, the majority voted in favor of the candidate, they saw that this person knows his business and that he has all it takes to improve the situation.

I have the feeling that now that the formation of the government is completed—basically, of course, because we still have to approve ten more candidates—the deputies will be sorry to part with the people whom they have just discussed so heatedly. During these 3 weeks the people have come to know one another and frequently talked among themselves.

As concerns the procedure for such an unusual approach to the formation of the government, I am convinced that all this is unprecedented and will go down in the history of our state as the beginning of a new stage of democracy.

[Yevseyev] How do you assess the composition of the current government?

[Ryzhkov] My opinion is that this is a strong government. Even before we presented it to the Supreme Soviet we conducted a careful selection of candidates. We had approximately 25 alternative candidates about whom the Supreme Soviet does not even know—these people could quite possibly either end up in the government or be used in some other work. In any case, those whom we nominated, in our view, were the strongest. They are all people who have gained wisdom through experience, but they are much younger than their predecessors. One of the outstanding features of the new government is that it includes many "intellectuals." If I am not mistaken, there are six academicians and corresponding members and there are doctors and candidates of sciences. Of course, for us even today it is important to have a large amount of production experience, especially for those who will be in charge of certain industrial ministries. But we decided to entrust the purely functional ministries or committees to people who have good theoretical training. Take, for example, the finance minister—Pavlov. He is a doctor of economic sciences. In my view, he is one of the strongest economists in the country and, of course, he has a quite different view of problems of finances from that of his predecessors. Or take the academicians Abalkin, Isayev, Chazov... I hope that such scientific potential will enable us to work out our problems more deeply and interpret them theoretically. This is very important today. I consider it a shortcoming of the previous government that when making decisions we did not always look far enough forward and were not always able to anticipate the consequences of one step or another. I think that the high intellectual potential of the new government will make it possible for us to avoid previous mistakes.

We have tried to arrange it so that a certain part of the government would finally be free of "daily affairs" which, unfortunately, are a constant pressure on us. Therefore, we introduced, for instance, the position of first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for operational issues—Comrade Voronin—so as to free the chairman of these jobs and give him the opportunity to concentrate on issues of a larger, more strategic nature.

True, today I have had to take an additional load on myself: two independent departments of the Council of Ministers—one will supervise cultural affairs, and the other, problems of women, maternity, and childhood.

[Yevseyev] How did this improvisation come about? After all, there was no mention of this in the documents of the Council of Ministers submitted to participants in the session.

[Ryzhkov] But the deputies spoke a lot about the need to create such organs. It has become clear to me that there is a kind of dissatisfaction with the fact that no one is taking women's problems seriously in the Council of Ministers, and that the situation is the same with respect to problems of culture. The range of problems to be handled by our Bureau for Social Development is too broad which, incidentally, the deputies also noted. And then a couple of days ago, during the night, when the Presidium of the Council of Ministers had convened....

[Yevseyev] Why at night?

[Ryzhkov] During the day we were all in session, and during those 3 weeks there was practically no time for us to do any work.... And so we convened and started to discuss what to do: We could not fail to listen to the voice of the deputies, and we understood that all this is true and that Comrade Biryukova, who is in charge of the Bureau for Social Development, is simply not able to handle everything all at once. I raised the issue that Aleksandra Pavlovna needed to be relieved of some of her burden. We began to decide what to do. I told the members of the Presidium: If you will take away just a few of my current daily affairs and immediate problems, I will supervise these two departments. That is what they decided to do. And in absentia they gave Comrade Voronin the additional assignment of dealing with problems related to the production of goods. Of course, it will be difficult to run these two departments. But, as they say, there is no way to get out of it.

[Yevseyev] This is, as it were, an additional load. And the basic one?

[Ryzhkov] The basic one? I try to concentrate on issues of economic reform, on general economic and social issues. Let us not forget that I am directly in charge of several other ministries as well. So I have plenty of work.

[Yevseyev] What are your plans regarding the vacant positions in the government? Incidentally, how many are there?

[Ryzhkov] There are ten vacancies and there is a candidate for one of them. Of course, I would like very much to have them all "filled" at a session. But I am not sure that this will happen. After all, there are approximately 2 weeks left before the end of the session. And we have discussed and selected far from all of the candidates. Only now is it becoming possible to calmly begin this work. I think that we should consult with all of the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet regarding these candidates beforehand, so as once again to check and recheck ourselves. But, of course, one cannot rule out the possibility that certain of our candidates may not be approved. So, I repeat, I have no special confidence that we will be able to complete everything in 2 weeks.

[Yevseyev] What bothers the chairman of the Council of Ministers most of all today?

[Ryzhkov] Agriculture. The production of food products. We must feed the country. When speaking before the deputies today I named agriculture as priority number one. Why did I say this? Because unless we achieve a sharp increase in this section, the pressure on the country will remain. During the first half year we increased the production of food products by less than 3 percent. The current growth rates do not satisfy us.

The second thing that is very alarming are interethnic relations. The most critical situations of conflict break out first in one place and then in another. People are dying... Such conflicts can have serious consequences for our multinational state, for the state should live a stable life.

I am also bothered by the strike movement that has arisen recently, for instance in the Kuzbass [Kuznets Basin]. Well, whatever you say, problems exist here. But where do they not exist? When you are present at the session from day to day you hear one thing: problems, problems, problems... Everything has been neglected. Everything must be put in order. There is a multitude of problems, and they all must be solved...

[Yevseyev] And above all, apparently, on a legal basis?

[Ryzhkov] Of course. All disputes and all conflicts must be resolved on a legal basis. Power methods will not do here. That can significantly knock the country off balance. The most important thing, the main thing for us today, is that we must focus on creative work. Only then will be able to make something out of what we have been saying during the 3 weeks at the Supreme Soviet session. If this does not happen, we shall continue to live and operate in just as disorganized a fashion as we do today, and we shall never move beyond words uttered from this lofty forum.

And we must understand that we cannot disperse our forces and take on all the problems that have arisen in the country. If we approach them now on a broad front, we will never achieve anything. On the contrary, we will only make the situation worse. I think that the state wisdom of the Supreme Soviet should consist in precisely this approach to our solutions...

[Yevseyev] What significance do you attach to informal relations among members of the government and deputies. I was a witness when one of the candidates for a ministerial post spoke beforehand with a group of deputies, "trying out" his program on them in advance. I think this was a reasonable step. In any case, the deputies understood both his problems and his ideas. Insofar as I have noticed, you are not against such contacts either.

[Ryzhkov] I think this kind of informal communication with the deputies is a great thing. I do not think there has been a single 20-minute break that I have used for rest. The deputies come up to say something or ask about something. I explain my position to them and they explain theirs. I am deeply convinced that it is here and not just at the podium, in this free communication unfettered by any formalities, that one can understand the other person. I consider this a norm of communication.

[Yevseyev] Is this your workstyle? Or is it a manifestation of a new style of work in the government in general that is based on the principle: "It is impossible to lead the country without communicating with the people"?

[Ryzhkov] As or myself, this is both the style of my work and the norm for my life. In know that certain other members of the government have become accustomed to working this way and that everyone has come to understand that this is the only way to work today.

[Yevseyev] How did your family react to the debates that took place in this building? You have had to speak a lot and defend your positions, and apparently not everything is going as smoothly as you would like it to... Has this affected your mood?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, I have had bitter moments here, very bitter. But I try to keep myself in hand. Of course, some of this is reflected in my speeches as well. And as concerns the people in my household, of course they have experienced everything that has taken place. True, I have not seen anyone at home these days except for my wife; I never get home before 1100.

[Yevseyev] They say that the session was a good school for deputies. Was it also a school for you? Did the leader learn something here?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, I have learned a great deal here. And not only I, but all the members of the government who have sat here and listened to everything the deputies have said. I must say that I have rethought a lot during this time and have understood that some things in my activity and certain decisions I have made will have to be corrected, and in some cases new solutions will have to be found.

I have also discovered many interesting people here. Even thoughts like these have appeared: Should this person not be included in the government? And it is not that some person is attractive or speaks logically. The podium clearly demonstrates a person's intellect, his worldview and, if you will, even his decency. I think we should keep some of these people in mind. In any case, it is worthwhile to pay attention to them.

There is one other discovery I have made for myself: We need more women in the government. I think the department we are now creating in the Council of Ministers, which is to deal with problems of women and children, should be headed by a woman. Who knows these issues better than women themselves? Of course, it is also wrong that the government today does not have a single nonparty minister.

[Yevseyev] In this hall we have repeatedly heard appeals to create as quickly as possible the legal mechanism necessary for perestroyka. In your opinion, when will this work be completed? When will there be an end to the "inventory" of all the executive regulations, many of which have long been outdated and are a hindrance to our lives?

[Ryzhkov] I think that now that the formation of the government is practically completed, we shall have to clearly spell out the entire program of action of the Council of Ministers (which, incidentally, we have already started to do). We have now analyzed for ourselves all the decisions of the congress, everything that was said at the session of the Supreme Soviet, and we are beginning to draw up a schedule for working on all the laws to be adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. I think that even today our highest legislative organ has enough documents to work on. It will be necessary to adopt many legislative acts. Their preparation and approval will take a lot of time. As for executive regulations, I think today we need mainly new laws; with their appearance all these documents will be taken out of legal circulation.

[Yevseyev] What can you say about our traditional relations between executive and legislative power? Do they suit you?

[Ryzhkov] No, they do not suit me. Moreover, it is precisely these, these relations, that I consider the number one issue. A fundamental issue. The government has frequently resolved such issues which, according to today's ideas, come under the jurisdiction of the highest legislative organ. And we in the Council of Ministers would be glad not to do it. Glad! But what happens if we do not have a law that we need today?! What are we supposed to do? There is a miners' strike in Kemerovo Oblast and we have no law pertaining to such things, although, as it turned out, we have been party to the corresponding convention since 1976.

So some decisions must be made. By whom? The Council of Ministers again? But we cannot say: There is no law and therefore do whatever you want to... Naturally, we shall hear in response: You are the government; what are you there for?! I repeat, we need laws. More laws. Then it will be easier for the executive power to work.

[Yevseyev] How do you envision your future dialogue with the parliament?

[Ryzhkov] I am thinking about that now. Permanent organs of the Council of Ministers, of course, will do a lot of joint work with the commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet, discussing draft laws and various problems. I am convinced that mutual dialogue is necessary, and this means that it will take place.

Trade Union Chief Shalayev Discusses Strike Laws

PM1608161189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), by correspondent Ye. Sorokin: "How To Regulate Labor Disputes?"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] At a PRAVDA correspondent's request, S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, comments on the USSR Draft Law "On the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts)."

[Sorokin] Stepan Alekseyevich, in July PRAVDA and the other mass media gave wide coverage to the miners' strikes. To this day the reasons for the conflicts have not been eliminated. Much was said about them during the USSR Supreme Soviet session. It must be noted that the workers are using this form of struggle for their rights increasingly frequently. Is it not this that has given rise to the need to adopt this law, the draft of which has been published in the press?

[Shalayev] The miners' strikes were not the reason for submitting the proposal to adopt this law, although they did accelerate preparation of the draft. Life has confirmed the need for legal regulation of the phenomenon in our society of temporary work stoppages as a means of the working people's struggle for their legitimate rights. I hope PRAVDA readers are aware of the difficulties of the draft law's passage at the session: There was a mass of amendments of fundamental importance, additions, and amplifications. But virtually none of the deputies cast doubt on the need to adopt this legal act.

A stopped plant, or even shop or sector, is a joint misfortune for us. Subcontractors feel it immediately. Plans for the production of output, including consumer goods already in short supply, are disrupted. Under the conditions of socialism, when enterprises are not the property of individuals but belong to the state and the

entire people, "explaining relations" with the aid of a strike causes economic damage primarily to the collective that resorts to this form of protest.

But on the other hand, I must say frankly that in the majority of cases the working people had serious cause for dissatisfaction. After all, it is a fact that many enterprises have still not received the autonomy guaranteed to them, and they remain without economic or legal rights and cannot dispose of the profit they earn. In a number of places the transfer to new wage and salary rates has proceeded with the most flagrant violations of the established procedure. For instance, sometimes many workers' wages were reduced indiscriminately while the salaries of leaders, engineering and technical workers, and employees were increased.

In these cases the trade unions did not remain aloof—they took steps on instances of violations of legislation, and sought to satisfy the working people's legitimate demands. The checks carried out by the AUCCTU last year showed that at many enterprises work schedules were introduced by directives and the labor collectives' opinion was not considered. It is the flagrant flouting of the law that leads to social tension, right up to threats to stop work.

If the working people's demands are examined promptly and the reasons for the labor conflicts that arise are eliminated, then as a rule there are simply no grounds left for the collective expression of dissatisfaction. At the same time, an analysis of these situations has also revealed the imperfection of legal mechanisms. In actual fact, the procedure for examining the labor disputes of individual workers and employees has long been defined by a provision approved by a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. At the enterprises there are commissions for labor disputes in which the trade union committees and the administration are represented on an equal basis. If a person is dissatisfied with the commission's decision, if he wishes the conflict is examined by the trade union committee, whose decisions in such cases are binding for the administration. Last year the commission and trade unions examined 501,882 labor disputes, and of these, decisions were made in favor of the working people in 497,708 cases (that is, over 99 percent).

But to this day our state legal acts do not define the procedure for **collective** labor disputes. The very concept of a "collective labor dispute" was absent in the laws. But in life such conflicts do exist, alas. That is why at the third AUCCTU plenum (August 1988) and later in the press the trade unions firmly expressed themselves in favor of the need to define in legislation the procedure for resolving such labor conflicts, and with the unfailing participation of the trade union committees, which represent the interests of the collective as one side in the dispute. Incidentally, we are not inventing the bicycle here, so to speak. Similar procedures exist not only in the capitalist countries, but also in a number of socialist countries, in Poland and Yugoslavia, for instance.

The AUCCTU has gone to the government with the proposal to jointly elaborate a draft all-union normative act that would make it possible to establish a state-legal procedure for examining collective labor disputes and would determine precisely in which violations of labor agreements it is possible to resort to suspending work and after what preliminary examination of these violations.

[Sorokin] Incidentally, Stepan Alekseyevich, it is precisely at this most recent stage that the very word "strike" has appeared. Many people have formed the impression that until very recently the trade unions seemed to be shy of using this word in submitting the draft...

[Shalayev] You know, the trade unions spoke openly of the strike as a reality under our conditions at that selfsame third AUCCTU plenum a year ago, and its documents have been published. At the time it was stressed that the working people's dissatisfaction with gross bureaucratic administration, the poor organization of production, inefficiency, last-minute rushed work, and other manifestations of excessive departmental zeal and bureaucracy sometimes acquire an extremely acute nature, going as far as strikes. It was proposed that the procedure for resolving such situations be defined in legislation.

We were deeply convinced of how important it is to bring union legislation into line with international law. After all, back in 1974 the Soviet Union ratified the international pact on economic, social, and cultural rights, which notes in particular that "states undertake to ensure the right to strike on condition that it is implemented in accordance with the law of each country."

[Sorokin] Could you highlight the main features of this new state act?

[Shalayev] Primarily it clearly defines what exactly can be the subject of a collective labor dispute: That includes questions of the observance of labor legislation at the enterprise, and the establishment of new socioeconomic conditions of labor and daily living or the modification of existing ones. The subjects of the dispute were also defined at the deputies' insistence. They are, on the one hand, the labor collective, whose interests are represented by the trade union committee, the labor collective council, or other organs elected by the collective. On the other hand, there is the administration of the enterprise, the higher-ranking sectorial (or intersectorial) organ of management, or the local soviet executive committee.

I want particularly to emphasize the latter circumstance. The point is that the strikes have often been, to put it as precisely as possible, not only labor strikes. People put forward demands for improving trade, medical and

consumer services, and the operation of transport and the law enforcement organs, insisted on normalization of the ecological situation, and so forth. Here the question cannot be resolved without the local soviets.

But here is what I want to say. Everyone knows that the work of enterprises is regulated by the collective contract, the procedure for whose preparation and adoption in our country is such that it enables literally all workers of the enterprise to take part in its development. The conditions defined in the collective contract are the mutual commitments of the collective and administration. And if the administration strictly fulfills them throughout the duration of the treaty, then new demands by the enterprise workers can hardly be deemed lawful unless, naturally, as happened in the coal sector and a number of other places, the situation has been influenced by some unfavorable outside factors. It is another matter when the administration fails to fulfill the terms of the collective contract and its commitments or violates existing labor legislation. The same applies to the ministry that does not fulfill its commitments to the sector's collectives and continues to dictate its terms to them. In that case a labor dispute is undoubtedly justified. Incidentally, in foreign practice, too, including in Sweden, Denmark, and the FRG, there is a rule whereby strikes are possible only if businessmen violate the provisions of the collective contract that has been concluded.

Next. A precise procedure and specific, very stringent deadlines are being established within which the demands of the labor collective or one of its subdivisions are examined consistently and at different levels, beginning with the conciliation commission at the enterprise. The draft law defines procedural questions with a consideration for international practice and the recommendations of the ILO [International Labor Office]. It is proposed that the work of the enterprise should not be suspended for the duration of the time stipulated by the law for resolving a collective labor dispute.

The draft law also names the organ whose decision on a collective labor dispute is final and subject to mandatory implementation if the parties to the dispute agreed on this when the declaration was submitted. This is the labor arbitration service created under the relevant court—oblast (city) court, kray court, or Supreme Court of the autonomous or union republic. It is to this service that the declaration on examining the dispute is submitted if the conciliation commission fails to reach consensus or if one of the parties—the administration or the collective—is not satisfied with the commission's decision. I would note that the labor arbitration service is entitled to present a special submission regarding the specific officials through whose fault the collective labor dispute arose.

[Sorokin] You get the impression that the path to a strike is very thorny....

[Shalayev] Is a strike an end in itself? The main thing is to resolve in time the problems that arise and not to let matters reach the point of bitterness, protest, and a strike. But we are firmly convinced that the labor collective and trade union committee must have the right to declare a strike in those cases where the administration and superior management organs do not fulfill the accords that have been reached or the decision of the conciliation commission or labor arbitration service and violate the prescribed procedure for examining disputes. A strike is declared by decision of the majority of the labor collective. That is clearly stated in the draft law.

[Sorokin] The draft law envisages sanctions regarding those working people who disobey the decision of the arbitration service or illegally stop work...

[Shalayev] Yes, participation in an illegal strike is regarded as a violation of labor discipline and entails disciplinary measures—ranging from censure and reprimand to dismissal from work. I would add that a strike can be declared illegal only on the grounds indicated in Article 9 of the draft. So there is no need to think that any strike is "doomed" in advance to illegality. But everyone must prove his correctness within the framework of the law and the democratic process.

[Sorokin] Strikes are prohibited in enterprises, production units, organizations, and institutions whose stoppage creates a threat to people's lives and health, in enterprises in railroad transport, civil aviation, communications, the power industry, and a number of others. In this case, how then are the working people of these sectors to secure their legitimate rights if all measures other than a strike have already been used and have failed to produce the necessary results?

[Shalayev] That is a correct question. It was also asked at the Supreme Soviet session during the discussion of the draft law. But, while speaking of rights, let us not forget about duties, too. Water, warmth, gas, bread, medicines—can the population be left without all this for even a single day? A range of such enterprises is defined by the legislation of virtually all countries.

But you are right to raise the question of the advisability of having an organ to resolve labor disputes at those enterprises where strikes are prohibited. We are sure that an all-union labor arbitration service must be created for these sectors.

[Sorokin] If I have understood matters correctly, the trade unions were the initiators in elaborating this law, and many articles of the draft speak of the role of trade union committees, of their right to a particular action. But surely this will also lead to an increase in the responsibility of trade union organs in cases of acute labor conflicts?

[Shalayev] Yes, the place of trade unions is very precisely designated at all stages in resolving a collective labor conflict. Judge for yourselves. The conciliation commission contains an equal number of representatives of the trade union committee, the labor collective council, and the administration. The labor arbitration service includes representatives of the superior trade union organ. When the chairman of the court ratifies the membership of the labor arbitration service, he must take into account the proposals of the parties to the dispute—that is, once again, of the trade union committee and the labor collective.

Don't forget either that trade union organs have the right to express mistrust in an administrator of any rank when they think that he is disregarding a demand from the trade union organization and the interests of the labor collective.

And trade unions are actively exercising their rights. In 1988, 10,919 representatives of the administration of various ranks were relieved of their posts at the demand of trade unions.

But you are quite right: In the new conditions the responsibility of trade unions, especially of their grassroots components, increases still further. After all, the trade union organization can reelect leaders of a trade union committee who, say, have failed to give timely support to legitimate demands from the collective and have not shown principledness.

I would merely like to add that the draft law, in my view, enhances the responsibility not only of all parties to the dispute, but also of the soviets of people's deputies of the territory on which the acute conflict arises. In particular, including people's deputies also in the labor arbitration service is planned.

[Sorokin] Nonetheless, I want to return again to the question of the activeness of trade union committees. Let us be blunt. By no means all of them proved to be really militant and active during the miners' strikes, as both deputies who spoke at the Supreme Soviet session and many authors of reports from the scene of the events noted. What conclusions have trade unions drawn for themselves?

[Shalayev] I must bluntly say that the main fault of trade union organizations and their elected organs—in relation to the strike situation created in July—lies in the fact that they did not adopt a principled position and did not ensure the timely examination and solution of the acute questions that had perturbed working people for years. Many trade union committees in mines and pits and miners' union territorial committees tolerated sluggishness and major omissions in the development of the social and consumer service sphere and put up with violations of working and leisure conditions, outrages in questions of remuneration, and so forth. This must be said firmly and clearly.

This was indeed done at the 28 July session of the AUCCTU Presidium. Moreover, the AUCCTU Plenum coming up in early September, to which we have decided to invite all USSR people's deputies representing trade unions, will make a detailed and comprehensive assessment of all this.

But the following can now be said, albeit on a preliminary basis. Trade union organs at all levels supported the striking miners' just demands. More than 30 mine trade union committee chairmen and their deputies became members of strike committees at coal enterprises in Kemerovo Oblast. More than 70 trade union committee chairman and members joined strike committees in Donetsk Oblast. So the miners themselves assessed their trade union leaders—they recognized some and expressed their distrust of others.

Yes, it is a fact that many trade union committees were perplexed in the unusual situation and did not attempt to seize the initiative so as to lead the working people's struggle for their rights and legitimate interests. When you talk with some of their workers now, they candidly state that they had simply never encountered such a situation in their lives and that there were no laws or resolutions to fit the case.

Well, even if these people are not in the right, they can be understood. That is why, until the new law is adopted, the AUCCTU Presidium has instructed trade union committees, on the one hand, to urgently examine working people's accumulated demands, make a principled assessment of each case of blatant violations of labor laws, and more resolutely exercise their right to express lack of confidence in and demand the removal of officials. This right, I would remind you, is enshrined in Article 20 of the Fundamental Principles of the USSR and union republic labor legislation.

On the other hand, when a collective conflict comes to a head, trade union committees are obliged to take the initiative and immediately set up conciliatory commissions (trade union committee, labor collective council, administration) and ensure that the conflicts are examined within a week. If the resolution of accumulated problems depends on the "upper echelons," trade union committees should immediately demand intervention from the central committee of their sectorial trade union.

[Sorokin] What if all these efforts fail to bring about reconciliation between the sides? And there is still no law....

[Shalayev] In the event of a strike breaking out as an extreme measure taken by a labor collective to protest unjustified delays in examining the labor collective's demands or a refusal by management to carry out a prior agreement—in short, when all measures for resolving the conflict have been exhausted and all opportunities for

removing its causes and circumstances have been used up—trade union committees should lead the working people's struggle for their legitimate rights and interests.

Admittedly, I would like to recall the USSR Supreme Soviet appeal to working people to support the proposal from a group of USSR people's deputies involved in production that all strikes be suspended until the law we have mentioned is adopted and on the statute books. This call for restraint and reason has met with a wide response.

The draft law has now been submitted for nationwide discussion, and this is very important. We all have a stake in ensuring that our rule-of-law state has a good and sensible law on this acute question—a law supported and approved by the people.

New Labor Minister Discusses Plans

PM1608151489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 33, 13 Aug 89 p 10

[Report on interview with State Committee for Labor and Social Issues Chairman Vladimir Shcherbakov by Vladimir Gurevich: "Staking His All on Work"]

[Text] Vladimir Shcherbakov, 39, is the youngest minister in the new government. He heads the USSR State Committee for Labour and Social Issues.

He came to his post at the time of the minners' strikes, and the chairman's armchair at No. 1 Kuybyshev Square, though formally occupied, remained empty. Its owner flew at once to Donetsk and found himself under the cross-fire of miners' questions on matters directly dealing with labour. Those who demanded answers didn't at all care whether or not he had had a chance to really delve into the problems.

The minister doesn't given an impression of having any time troubles. But a time bomb seems to be hidden in the dozens of blue folders neatly stacked on his desk.

"In order to go into all of this, we must now literally work around the clock. Otherwise we won't make progress."

What's behind the blue folders? A heritage consisting nearly entirely of old debts. Now they're being called to account all at the same time: grants to millions of those in "low-income groups", pensions for thousands of widows of men killed in Afghanistan, the demands of the miners, employment for refugees—the Meskhetian Turks, Armenians, Azerbaijanians. It is impossible to put any one of these folders away, and there are new ones arriving all the time. However, he's opened some of them many times already.

"I already worked at the Committee, but as a department head. I was completely taken aback when my candidature came up at the Council of Ministers' presidium. Important state officials, secretaries of regional Party committees or Central Committee functionaries were generally nominated for such posts. I didn't fit into this tradition."

Though Vladimir Shcherbakov comes from the Maritime Territory—he was born in a military garrison near Vladivostok, to the family of a pilot and a medical nurse—he's really a "Volga man". Right after school, he went to Togliatti to build the automobile works and stayed there for 15 years. He studied at the Polytechnical institute, worked at the city Komsomol committee, then at the AutoVAZ [Volga Auto Works] plant. He left it when he was the chief of the plant's planning-department administrative and, at 33, became the director for economics and planning of KamaAZ [Kama Truck Factory]. From there he was transferred to the State Labour Committee and then to the Council of Ministers. He is a production worker, an apparatchik, an economist, a Doctor of Science (his wife, by the way, is an economist, too).

The road he traversed covered many events. Some he remembers with pleasure, others—without. But he does not evade questions. He was one of the authors of the 1986 resolution on the reform of wages (it envisaged new wage scales and salaries in production), yet is very critical about the reform. He wanted to write about it openly but his superiors said: "You prepared it yourself and now you wish to criticize it?" He did publish an article, "A Contract for a Plan", this time under his own name, together with Gavril Popov. The article spoke of full cost accounting and many other things that were, at the time, no less seditious. For many months the article lay about in the editorial office, and when it was finally published the authors were accused of "distorting the basic line".

A year ago, when you were already at the Council of Ministers, you gave an interview in which you objected against leasing large enterprises, because that removes them from state management. Isn't that so!

"You've got pretty good files, haven't you? And I still think that inexpedient. Small and middle-size enterprises can be owned by the workers. But at the large enterprises it is very important who determines investments—too great is the risk that all the money will be used to pay wages. A large enterprise could become a joint- stock company: then the shareholders—other plants, banks, cooperatives, local Soviets—would keep an eye on investments."

One can agree, one can disagree, since that is a position, and there are arguments. When there are no arguments, there's nothing to debate about.

How does he assess the situation in the Committee of which he is now the chairman?

"The Committee is lagging behind the course of events. It lacked initiative, at best only asked questions, and those mainly addressed to the treasury. But it didn't say where to get the money or how to earn it. Besides that, it lost sight of important problems: the demographic policy, subsistence wages, the family budget."

Nikolay Gritsenko, chairman of the Commission of the Soviet of the Union on Questions of Labour, Prices and Social Policy, spoke with sympathy about your programme of social-policy reforms.

"It would be good if we were to cooperate. But nowadays not a single question passes through the Supreme Soviet easily. My programme is to stop talking about the damaging nature of the 'leftover' principle of allotting resources for social needs, and to reject it in real life. How? To prepare and approve social norms in as short a period of time as possible. You don't like the name—social norms? What I'm speaking about is the minimum that the state undertakes to guarantee everybody: social funds, housing and a subsistence wage, with anything above that level distributed according to the work done. If the Supreme Soviet approves the norms, they become law."

You spoke of the problems the committee lost sight of. The problem of employment was officially never lost sight of. But when I cam here several years ago to gather material, I was told: "What are you worrying about? That's a problem for the distant future. We've got plenty of vacancies." At the same time, naturally, nobody even mentioned unemployment. By the way, how many unemployed do we have?

"I think the situation is extremely tense. The events in Ferghana only confirmed this. As for people permanently not involved in social production, estimates vary from 7 to 15 million, even though these people are far from always unemployed. Central Asia needs its own programme, as do the central regions of Russia. And as to unfilled jobs, we really do have a lot. The problem is that they merely represent unrealized potential. And far from everybody realizes the acuteness of the situation."

But what do they "realize"?

"In the first place, I suppose, it is pensions. We have countless letters asking when the new law will be passed."

It has been worked on for several years now. The explanation was that the protraction was due to the desire to set up a truly "just mechanism". But, as it turned out, everything depended on finances. It was said that for the pension law 10-14 billion roubles were needed, then—18-20. And recently Valentin Pavlov, the Minister of Finance, gave the figure of 25-27 billion.

"Maybe even 30 billion. Up till now we have found some 20 billion. But now the burning issue on the agenda is to raise the minimum pension. This cannot be put off, as the Supreme Soviet has already passed a law on it. There are sources no one has even thought about, though they are 'lying on the surface'. Let's say, the army is being reduced, including 100,000 officers and generals. Why not channel their wages into pensions for those who had fought in Afghanistan or their widows? But I must tell you an unpleasant secret—we could find all the necessary money for the pensioners, and still be held up by our primitive clerical work. With the office mechanization facilities that we have, even the simple recalculation of millions of pensions turns into a nightmare."

Could you tell me another secret—what is our level of poverty? The 75-roubles-a-month figure raises eyebrows.

"No, I cannot. Because I don't know it myself. The assessments are from 70 to 110 roubles. But I do know very well that the minimum consumer budget still named nowadays (50 roubles) does not stand up to criticism. I looked into the consumer basket on the basis of which it was calculated—there are goods there which we haven't had for a long time. For example, felt boots for 5 roubles a pair. Or a 3-rouble hat which lasts three years. That same 'basket' also contains Baykal cigarettes—have you ever seen them? I haven't caught sight of them for at least 20 years. We must not only reconsider the 'basket', but set up a mechanism of social protection—link up wages, pensions and allowances with the level of inflation. And arrange indices that would automatically correct payments. And we cannot postpone this either."

The question is not only whether the State Labour Committee will have time to do it or not. What precisely will it do? What will it offer in the heat of time-limits and obligations, and under the pressure of unrealistic and levelling out demands?

"I think, we shouldn't present to the government 'one-and-only' projects. We shall try to put forward alternative projects, fine. We don't consider ourselves to be more intelligent than everyone else."

I think it was Seneca who said that even the gods cannot remunerate work fairly. But, judging by what was going on in labour remuneration, the State Labour Committee always thought itself above the gods, with its pronouncements about wage rates, salaries, diagrams, correlations and permissible percentages of bonuses. When switching to cost accounting, enterprises came up against all these "corsets" put on their initiative.

The chairman of the State Labour Committee is convinced that in general all administrative ceilings on incomes, pensions, etc., must be done away with. The state mustn't interfere with remuneration by such crude methods as before—it must be regulated mainly through

taxes. This, by the way, is also true of such a burning problem as the norms of correlation between the growth of wages and labour productivity. Taxes will allow us to get rid of them.

By the way, Sotsialisticheskiy Trud (Socialist Work), the magazine of the State Labour Committee itself, was one of the first to criticize these rigid norms as early as the beginning of the year. Essentially, it forestalled what later on the people's deputies spoke of at the congress. But when it did—it was still a long time before the congress met—the editor-in-chief was summoned and asked whether he'd by any chance forgotten which department the magazine represented.

"At the time I wasn't working at the Committee, but I still was a member of the magazine's editorial board. And, to be frank, I was against that article. Besides criticism, one's got to have constructive proposals: If not this way, then how? I'm not for journalists being called to account, and I think that even the most severe criticism should be permitted, including criticism of governmental decisions. But the critic should also be responsible, and should offer some alternative."

And so, criticism from below can reach the governmental level. What about wages?

"And why shouldn't they? At the Supreme Soviet a deputy asked: How does the State labour Committee regard the fact that the income of a cooperator (this deputy's neighbour) is 1,200 roubles—as much as that of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee? I said that this in general was the sum the members of the Politburo got, and that as to the alternate members of the Politburo, who get 1,100 roubles, his neighbour had already surpassed them. But maybe his work is worth it? In the USA successful production managers get more than does the US President, and this shocks no one. And how many young scientists who made new computers and programmes have become millionaires? Maybe the president's pay should be raised? But that's already another question."

Since the chairman of the State Labour Committee didn't faint when he heard the phrase "labour market", I think we can conclude that while it is not as yet guaranteed, it is at least possible.

Letter Calls for Open, Honest Debates

PM1608130389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Reader's letter under the rubric "Mail on Last Page": "Having One's Own Opinion"]

[Text] In the Russian Army during the time of Suvorov and Kutuzov there was a good rule: Before making any decision at the military council, the most junior ranks expressed themselves first, then the senior ranks. And finally the commander, summing up the results, would make the decision. Collegiality coexisted with one-man command and no one looked with ingratiating servility into the eyes of the chiefs; everyone had to have their own opinion.

The procedure is different now. Take any meeting, conference, or aktiv. What do we observe? First the leader takes the rostrum. He reads a report after which so-called debates begin. As a rule people have prepared for them in advance, adapting themselves to the report's theses. And even the boldest person rarely dares to criticize or disagree with the report's fundamental provisions. At best he will simply make an addition or amplification regarding his plant, rayon, or oblast, but will go no further. Why? Because the viewpoint of the "top man" is already known and that means the main line, which it is better not to oppose, has been determined. Although there are new times in our country, in the backwoods punishment follows a "rebellious" speech.

This practice gives rise to toadying, servility, and subservience. And you can do nothing to eliminate it as long as the chief expresses himself before his subordinate. Let the rank and file speak first, indicate blunders and their causes, propose their own options for managing matters and let the "top man" only be given the floor later, after everyone else. I am sure this will serve the cause of normalizing our society.
[Signed] I. Grabuzov, Rostov Oblast.

Function of Strike Committee Assessed

18280271 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 8 Aug 89 p 2

[Roundtable discussion prepared by I. Zhagel, Ye. Leontyeva, and V. Prokhvatilov: "The Fire That Might Not Flare Up"]

[Text] **The miners' strike is over! The detailed decree of the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for Providing for the Implementation of the Joint Decisions Adopted by Government Commissions With the Participation of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] and the Strike Committees of Workers From Coal Regions of the Country" contributed to normalization of the situation. It is intended to satisfy all the miners' demands both in the area of improvement of the methods and forms of management and improvement of the conditions for their labor and life. Practically all collectives of miners have gone back to work.**

So is this the end of it?

Certainly not. The strikers are too strong a weapon and therefore it is necessary to examine in depth the factors that caused the miners to abandon work and go out onto the squares of their cities and villages. We must carefully figure out what these strike committees are—a new organ of power? What are their future functions? What are their relations with the trade union, party, and soviet organs,

with the administrations of enterprises, and with the technical intelligentsia? These are the things that were discussed at a meeting of the collective of the editors of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and representatives of the strike committees of the Donbass.

Participating in the conversation were: A. Bokarev, a rock excavating machine operator from the Yuzhno-Donbasskaya-3 mine; S. Naydenov, a tunneler of the Ye.T. Abakumov mine; V. Oksen, his colleague from the Leninskiy Komsomol Ukrainy mine; Yu. Karpuzovich, coal cutter; A. Dubovik, master explosives expert of the M.I. Kalinin mine; G. Pivovarov, stope miner of the Rodinskaya mine; B. Grebenyuk, chairman of the Saturn repair-construction cooperative; Yu. Burykh, chief of the technical department of the Gorlovskiy Chemical Plant, USSR people's deputy; and N. Podgornyy, chairman of the territorial committee of the trade union of coal industry workers of Krasnodon.

The first question, which interests many people, is what are the relations between the strike committee and the trade union and party organs?

Karpuzovich: Our strike started spontaneously. It originated beyond the Urals and then moved on to the Donbass. Because of its spontaneous nature, many difficulties of an organizational nature have arisen. Why was the strike committee organized so quickly? Mainly because, to our surprise, leaders soon emerged from the worker environment; interesting people with initiative who were capable of thinking in broad terms. Members of the labor collectives placed their confidence in them. As is typical, these people had an excellent understanding of the responsibility that had been placed on them; they understood their duty and therefore there was no disorder during the strike. Otherwise the matter could have gotten out of control and turned into anarchy.

During the process of the strike the strike committees played the role of a secondary form of management. They assumed a number of the functions of trade union, party, and soviet organs.

Bokarev: I wish to explain the sources of all of this movement. Why did it spring up? The strike coincided with the beginning of the deputy debates in the Kremlin. I said to my comrades: "There is a discussion going on, and people are boldly expressing their opinions, but what about us—do we not have any burning issues?" And I expressed my position to the comrades who had gathered there. It consisted of five points: First: Allow leave for miners in the basic occupations during the summer period. Second: Increase the leave to 60 days. Why? Not because we descend to a depth of 1,000 meters and risk our lives every second, but because we are working under conditions where safety techniques are in a pathetic state. Because the plan hangs over our heads like the sword of Damocles—Produce! Produce! Who is responsible for the conditions in which we work? Nobody. Neither the section chief nor the director nor the mine foreman—nobody. Third: Declare Sunday a day off for everyone. We never see our families and spend 10-12 hours at work. And yet we are given credit for a 6-hour work day. As everyone says, nobody looks out for us. Nobody considers our opinions or our complaints. Fourth: Increase wages for night work. I referred to the 1987 decree No 194. It is the practice here that if a person violates the law everyone cries out: He is a criminal. But do they consider the people who ignore this decree to be criminals? Of course not. Fifth: Increase the guaranteed pension to the average wage throughout the country. The average earnings for the coal industry here is 320. After taxes we receive R250-260.

My comrades listened to me and the ball started rolling.

After that the mine director called me in and wanted to know what I had said there. I explained. He asked why it was necessary for me to say these things. You have work, you receive wages. What else?

And the strike began. My proposals are at the basis of the decrees which have now been put forward by all mine collectives. They were also included in the decree for the whole union. In order to actually start working on these problems, I began a dialog with our party and trade union leaders. But they brushed me aside. They said the problems had to be solved but not locally.

Then I met with the general director of Donetskugol, Valentin Grigoryevich Ilyushenko. He also listened to me attentively. And in response he said: "How can I get away from this plan which we are obliged to fulfill?"—"But where, Valentin Grigoryevich, will you find more people who are willing to provide coal at the cost of their lives? Come to our hospital and see how many of us are without arms or legs. So many cripples—you will see that with your own eyes in any hospital. How many die—you can learn that at any mine. But will you find out if anybody was held responsible for this?"

He agreed with me again. Of course the problems had to be solved. And again the understanding ended here. In brief, there was no dialog either with the leadership of the mines or with the local authorities. After that, on my own initiative, I called a meeting of all four shifts. I not only presented my own five issues but also told them why these questions had been raised. I formulated my position as the need to resolve crucial socioeconomic and legal problems in the life of the miners. At this shift meeting we wrote a letter of appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry.

This was on 21 June. I warned them that if there were no dialog on a high level the disease would go deeper and then a social explosion could take place. And now it has. In the Kuzbass and Karaganda and then in the Donbass, and a chain reaction has started. What was needed? All

the party, trade union, and soviet organs had to do was take one step to meet us halfway. And now they are reaping the fruits of their own helplessness.

Oksen: I would not say that our movement is spontaneous. The problems have been crucial for a long time and they have come to the surface and been discussed heatedly everywhere. All that was needed was a push for the volcano to "erupt." And it "erupted." Trade unions everywhere immediately began to support the administration. During the period of the strike they removed themselves from the control of the masses. And the collectives of the sections and mines brought forth their own representatives from among themselves, who immediately submitted a package of absolutely legitimate demands. Strike committees were created everywhere. And the orderliness was exceptional. Iron discipline. In Pavlogradugol the chief of the militia reported on the situation every morning and each time he expressed this gratitude—for days not a single crime was committed.

But how our problems were resolved is another question. Indeed, neither the soviet nor the party organs in the oblast took all this seriously. And when they saw that we were a force, and one to be reckoned with, the commissions and representatives of the ministries and departments began to shrivel up. They reached a point where they would satisfy some of our initial demands. But nobody would name the specific parties responsible for implementing the decisions. Everything was general.

Grebenyuk: I agree with what my comrades have said. But I wish to add something. The package of our demands includes this point: "To recognize as working time and to pay for as working time the time it takes to travel through the mines from one shaft to another." And this is very important since this travel in just one direction sometimes takes up to 2 hours. Do you get the picture? Further. We have here a violation of the principle of socialism—payment according to labor. We are paid not according to our work but according to the plan. This is calculated for conditions where everything is easy, where the conditions are normal and there is less work—here we produce more and receive more. But in places where there are obstructions and where the techtonics are complicated—we produce little coal and receive little money. These are the most important points that drove the people to take this step.

Naydenov I wish to discuss the nature of the previous articles in the press about miners. There was a reference to "beacons." At every mine there are brigades that are granted the best conditions. Each collective knows these "beacons." But are they heroes? The press said they were heroes, but the majority of workers had a different opinion. Now the press is trying to determine which direction to work in next since the situation has changed altogether. As a member of the strike committee of the city of Donetsk I have great complaints against the press. Whom have we seen in the square in front of the obkom [oblast committee]? Foreign journalists. And our journalists have practically not spoken with us.

Tell us, have any of these "beacons" been elected to the strike committees?

Karpuzovich: I do not entirely agree with what was said just now. Yes, the "beacons" are like contrived people. But many of them have worked conscientiously. The question is whether or not they were used for the right purposes. In our city strike committee we have Volodya Shershakov, a leading worker, a coal cutter. He is a sensible person. Now he does not agree with us in everything, but he expresses himself candidly regarding this. He says: "It was pointed out to me that this was necessary and I truly believed.... Now I am beginning to have my doubts."

Dubovik: On the whole the press has reported on the strike completely enough, but not always objectively. As concerns SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, it has always devoted attention to us.

We want the society to understand us correctly. Many nomenklatura workers and also the mass media persistently suggest that we are just looking out for ourselves. But the people who look ahead have a good understanding of the positive role we are playing in the distribution of social forces.

Podgornyy: I shall again return to the beginning of the strike. Where I live in Krasnodon it initially arose at the best mine in the branch, the Mologvardeyskaya, where we find working the brigade of "millionaires" led by A. Kolesnikov, a permanent member of the CPSU Central Committee. It arose because of internal injustice. There are more than 150 people in Kolesnikov's brigade and the average earnings exceed R500. But the average earnings for miners in the mine as a whole are about R300. The working conditions cannot be compared. In the places where they receive R300 there is water in the mining faces, the beds are not rich, and the technical equipment is old.

When we compiled the list of demands of all the miners they were as similar as two drops of water. As though they had been written with carbon paper. The issues were the same. But nobody had copied anything from anyone. It is simply that they had common problems.

But since I am working in the role of trade union leader now, I should still like to discuss the role of the trade unions. As distinct from others, our trade union understood and accepted the strike. At the Sukhodolskaya Mine Comrade Makey, the chairman of the trade union committee, participated in the strike along with the workers. There were by-elections to the trade union and he was elected again. At the Orekhovskaya Mine they expressed no confidence in the mine's director, the deputy director for production, the chief of the personnel

department, the chief of the planning department, and practically all the rest of the leaders. But they expressed confidence in the chairman of the trade union, Didenko. Moreover, he now has a good chance of becoming the director of the mine.

Briefly, the workers did not reject those who worked with us. And I want to say one more thing. Were it not for the bureaucratic red tape that surrounded the demands we made a long time ago, this outburst would probably not have happened. For example, M. Shchadov, the minister, was at the last plenum of our trade union's central committee. We told him about the request to let everyone have 1 day off together, about vacations, about the rates per ton. But he gave an evasive answer: Let us consider this under the next 5-year plan. This is where the lack of confidence began. And this is why we were sent to Moscow.

Burykh: I am a member of the presidium of the Gorlovka city strike committee. By education I am a chemical engineer. I was born and grew up in a mining village next to a refuse dump and I still live there to this day. Two members of my family have died in the mines: My father, (I was born after he had died) and my sister's husband died. I frequently walk through the cemetery where they are buried next to one another. Thousands of dead miners rest in peace in our Gorlovka cemetery.

For 3 days I tried to get a turn to speak in the Supreme Soviet, but unfortunately I heard shouts: You miners have created a crisis situation in the country and now you are trying to get to the podium to incite more emotions.

I understand well that such ideas do not come from the most progressive part of the Supreme Soviet, but one asks oneself whether everybody knows that in the country as a whole one person dies for every million tons of coal that is extracted. And in the central region of the Donbass (Gorlovka, Yenakiyevo, Dzerzhinsk, Donetsk) three or four people die for every million tons. One percent of the miners in the country suffer from occupational illness each year. And serious injuries—six people for every million tons of coal extracted!

I descended 1,000 meters to the mining face at the Lenin mine. The temperature was 35 degrees. The working conditions reminded one of hell; the coal was cracking. The light from the lamp reached only 2 meters; beyond that it could not penetrate through the dust. I tried to eat a sandwich and the miners laughed at me—just try to eat. I could not—the dust crept in. In the central region of the Donbass the percentage of utilization of manual labor is very high—67 percent of the coal is extracted with a jackhammer. This is the level of the 1930's.

The roots of today's conflicts lie mainly in the deep bureaucratization of management. The trade unions have also been appropriated by the state and have become appendages of the state. All these are causes of the strike.

A draft law on strikes is now being discussed. I read this draft to the workers—nobody understood anything. What is it about? I must state clearly that the strike is a form of political and economic struggle, a form of protest. And here they have camouflaged it with the expression "labor conflict." When S. Shalayev reported on the draft of this law, he responded to a question from one of the speakers: Yes, you are right, Article 5 of the law is not completely developed and yes, you are right, Article 8 of the law is not completely developed.

Dear comrades, then why bring such a law up for discussion at all? I submitted the proposals of the Gorlovka miners to the Committee for Questions of Legislation as early as Friday. They have not yet been considered. There we wrote clearly that the strike is a form of expression of protest, including political protest. We must proceed from reality.

Then again we do not know who wrote this draft law. It is written: the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU with additions and changes from the committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Again it is completely depersonalized and again it is a rough draft. It is embarrassing to show it to the people. The rights of the strike committees are in no way stipulated and conflicts are already beginning around this. Our comrades from Vorkuta came to me and asked that I convey a statement to the Supreme Soviet: The Vorkuta gorispolkom [city executive committee] is refusing to register the strike committee as a social organization.

When the strike began I flew from Moscow, and the next day I was already with the strikers. Then there was no time for finding out information about members of the strike committee. But a week later after things had settled down they began to ask how many of us were communists.

Almost half of the city strike committee were communists. That is, on the one hand the strikers express a lack of confidence in the official organs and on the other, there are many communists whom they trust. We communists of the city strike committee asked the communists of Gorlovka and Donetsk Oblasts and the Ukraine to hold democratic elections to local societies. Unless there were extraordinary party meetings, rayon, city, and oblast conferences, and a congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, nothing would change. The elections to the local soviets would proceed just as they had before.

But the party now needs to purge itself in all of its parts. Without this we shall generally doom the entire process of perestroyka to failure. If this work is not done in the party the consequences of the general crisis will indeed become unpredictable. And no law about strikes will help.

Did the strike committee not have a demand for elections to local soviets not next spring, but immediately?

Burykh: Not in Gorlovka. Taking into account what this provoked in the Kuzbass, the people considered the issue closed.

As a deputy do you support this demand.

Burykh: Absolutely.

Bokarev: What does the worker want? Normal wages and humanly tolerable working conditions. He wants to change his social sphere, he wants to live better. He wants to be an attractive, civilized person. The Americans live that way, and are they any better than we are? Therefore we must control production ourselves, sell our own coal, and spend our own money.

Can you clarify how you combine economic and political demands?

Karpuzovich: The first point we demanded was elections to local soviets. We did not agree to have them postponed. The workers raised the question of a lack of confidence in the current deputies of the city soviet and the top city leaders. Understandably, unless there are radical changes in policy and unless there are democratic elections, all economic transformations will be left suspended in air. Many people are now arguing: Should the workers engage in politics or not? Of course they should. But we must not allow the worker movement to become purely political. Then it would lose all of its meaning: protection of the interests of the working class.

Dubovik: I should like to add something about the gorispolkom. Anyone wanting to cooperate would find complete understanding from the strike committee. V. Larikov, first deputy chairman of the gorispolkom, was with us during the entire strike and solved problems of food, medical aid, and maintaining order. The same thing is true of the mine administration. Of course some people liked our director and others did not. But he is a good businessman. We held elections and kept him in his post. We understand that we need specialists.

Karpuzovich: We tried to restrain our emotions. For instance they raised the question of replacing the director of one of the mines. And we countered with the question: Do you have another candidate? Find the appropriate specialist and then we shall bring the question to a vote.

Incidentally, I should like to especially note that none of us is eager to take management positions. The main issue is that we finally be given a real opportunity to participate in the control of production and influence the activity of the local soviets.

Naydenov: The general director of the Gorlovka mine went along with the strikers. But the director of Donetskugol sent a telegram to the minister requesting that an order be issued forbidding the election of section chiefs and up to director. If such an order had come out it would have been a direct violation of the Law on the State Enterprise.

Bokarev: The issue of confidence in leaders but lack of confidence in governmental commissions has come up repeatedly. The comrades here have correctly noted that some leaders have agreed with us and understood that the crucial issues must be resolved. But some have tried to get by with half measures, not understanding the explosive nature of the situation.

It is no accident that when we began on the square to read the first variant of the protocol of the agreements with the government commissions, shouts soon started to ring out: "Down with that!" We read on a little further and people began to make additional demands. So we ended up including another eight points in this protocol.

We must evaluate this type of demand correctly. The people who went out into the square were filled with pain and despair—it all merged into one. The people's patience had been stretched so far and they were so tired of seeing people simply nod their heads at their complaints. Like people full of love they say: We love the people, we respect you, we understand you.

Dubovik: Some of my comrades speak very emotionally here. But you must understand that we did not get enough sleep and we were constantly on our feet. For me these 4 days of the strike were like a lifetime. And I immediately submitted an application to the party—because only communists could sign our appeal on behalf of the miners. That was the condition. The main concern today is what is going to happen to the state power.

Bokarev: All the miners have been mobilized to help in perestroyka. And if it is going poorly, as I understand it, it is necessary to look to the lower levels. And I give my word that the miners will not shrink from this.

Pivovarov: There are blind alleys here. Each of us was sent here, to Moscow, with specific demands. This is what we thought: We would come to the ministry, submit our question, and get an answer. But nobody there wants to listen. They greet us, almost kiss us, as they did in the good old days of Brezhnev. They hug you like a long lost friend they have been yearning to see. But the minute you begin to speak they say that the minister, the deputy minister—they all have a lot of problems. You nod your head in agreement. And then what? Come back another time....

So we come back in a week. They have gathered our demands together—and, say, 3 days they will be ready. We come back in 3 days. The documents are ready but they are rough. Come toward evening, you know they are ready but they have not been signed. We come back—there is a meeting; everyone is busy. Come back at 12

o'clock. We came and they asked us: Where have you been; why have you not come earlier; we agreed on 9 o'clock. We look at the demands and we see: from the ukase of 1967, from this ukase... bureaucratic formal replies.

Another situation. When the strike committee was elected it was represented on the square. You go up to the podium and you give your job and your name. As soon as you say you work as an engineer you might as well leave; there is no confidence. As a result it turned out that everyone on the strike committee has a secondary education. In fact I think they all have secondary technical education. Yes, they can solve certain elementary problems. But what about economics, politics, or law? Then they began to bring in consultants. And by the time the formation of the strike committee was completed, who knows where they all came from: from the AUCCTU, lawyers, and venerable old scholars. Where were they all earlier—we do not know.

How do you evaluate the decree for meeting your demands and in what direction should it be improved?

Oksen: These are basically problems for the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the AUCCTU. The deadline is October 1989. I dropped in to the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. Comrades who? But why did you come to us? Go to the AUCCTU. You go to the AUCCTU and they send you back to the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. You run like a squirrel on a wheel, and you almost lose your balance. And yet they are hurrying us: You have 2-3 hours to discuss this. Discuss it and sign. There is pressure from all directions. In this rough draft you are always coming across words like "radical change," "for full satisfaction of the demands of the national economy," "envision." But what lies behind them? The decree concerning pay for night and evening shifts came out as early as 12 February 1987 and we are still trying to put it into effect. They write: to go into effect on 1 July of this year. So why is this piece of paper still lying there?

I am from Pavlogradugol myself. I call every evening—45,000 miners are waiting. You understand: The strike has just been halted! We are aware, of course, that all the problems cannot be solved today or tomorrow but, comrades, give us a specific responsible person and a specific deadline: Whom can we ask and when?

Grebenyuk: I wish to add the following: The legal justification for our being in Moscow was a government telegram. We immediately received a document signed by Gorbachev and Ryzhkov. This placated the masses and the strike was stopped. Now it is a question of how our problems will be solved. I shall take the responsibility for saying that the Ministry of the Coal Industry is still not interested in satisfying all of our demands. Making mainly economic demands, we are strictly adhering to them. Seeing us as a force, representatives from various people's fronts have come to us looking for support. I shall say honestly that we have not established contacts with them since we have not yet figured out their positions and platforms. And without this, you understand, it is impossible to establish contacts.

Does this mean that the miners as representatives of the working class want to separate themselves from all the rest?

Karpuzovich: Of course not. Let us evaluate the situation realistically. Our worker movement is still in the embryonic stage. How can we proceed toward establishing any concrete, deep contacts when we have not even straightened out our own affairs? After all, it has only been 2 weeks. But we are trying to understand the political situation in the country.

Let us assume that your demands have been satisfied and the strike has ended. Will you, as the structure of some labor organization that has somehow grown up from within, go back to the mine or continue to work "on top"?

Karpuzovich: No, we shall continue to work. We have now sketched out a plan. The first group will work to clarify our demands. We have assigned one person from each coal association for this. The second engages mainly in trade union affairs. It is necessary to relieve the trade unions of everything extraneous so that it can really protect the interests of the workers. The third group handles the problem of convening the congress of the trade union of coal workers and the theoretical development of the strike committees. But this is still just a sketch.

Grebenyuk: I shall add to the question of our further work. There will be repeat elections of soviets of labor collectives. They will be formed on the basis of the current strike committees. Then the repeat elections of the trade union committees will be conducted under their supervision. From all appearances, a number of representatives of the strike committees will hold positions of trade union leaders. The candidates leadership posts will come from representatives of the strike committees in the event of reorganization of production as well. That is, the current temporary structures will grow into real power organs. Whether or not we will be included in the party and soviet organs will be determined by the elections that are to take place in December of this year. I think we will be included.

OUR COMMENTARY The conflict has been exhausted. Let us say candidly: It arose under extreme conditions that were created in the branch. The government decision is an important step toward improving the situation. It must be followed by a large amount of work on the part of the Ministry of the Coal Industry, the Ministry of Heavy Machine Building, and other interested ministries for technical retooling of the enterprises.

Without this it is impossible to speak seriously about improving working conditions for the miners. The branch ministry along with the economic departments of the country should adjust and introduce a modern control mechanism, taking into account the growing independence of the various kinds of coal mines. Local party and soviet organs and trade unions should learn their lesson from the just criticism. The renewal of the branch, which is supported by the workers themselves, should encompass everyone involved in this matter.

News Customs Inspection Rules Reported

PM1708082589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 89 p 4

[V. Yunisov report: "Come This Way, Sir"]

[Text] Today the Soviet customs service introduces new regulations for inspecting passengers.

In the morning, at exactly 1100 hours Moscow time, after a news conference given for journalists by representatives of Soviet customs and the Central Administration of International Air Communications, the era of blanket checking of passengers will become history. G. Shadrin, chief of customs at Sheremetyevo, will cut the ribbon in the special control hall and invite passengers aboard.

"Now passengers will decide for themselves whether to go through customs control or not," G. Shadrin explains. "For this purpose, systems of 'red and green channels' have been introduced. The basic principle is a trusting attitude toward citizens regardless of which country they are from. If a passenger does not have currency, valuables, or articles subject to inspection, he can calmly go through the 'green channel,' but if he has something to declare, he must put the necessary details down on the appropriate papers and go through the 'red channel,' which is an ultramodern complex of control equipment. However, customs reserves the right to stop any passenger who wants to make use of the 'green channel' to deceive the law, but such are our professional difficulties."

...The system of "red and green channels" is operating in practically 50 countries in the world. In our country it has been set up in Sheremetyevo 1, Sheremetyevo 2, and Riga.

Customs Official Details New Regulations

LD0108093489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 31 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As of 15 August, new customs regulations will come into effect in our country.

[Bakarinov] For the moment, the country's customs service is operating according to the old regulations. The picture is a familiar one, but Soviet and foreign citizens are already noticing the unusual signs, information screens, and rooms with electronic technology. The activity of the customs staff looks different somehow. [video shows people arriving at an airport and a customs officer working at a computer]

[V.K. Boyarov, head of the main administration of the State Customs Control, identified by caption] A completely new principle lies at the basis of the rules, that people, first and foremost citizens of the USSR, have the right to bring everything back to the Soviet Union in unrestricted amounts bought with legally earned foreign currency through earned wages, honoraria for lectures, for a book that has been published, and so on and so forth, all the money that they have earned abroad, and this is not subject to customs duty.

[Bakarinov] It is no secret to anyone that some individuals attempt to use their trips abroad in order to get rich. How will you act in those cases?

[Boyarov] Well, here we have to differentiate. The reference to the abolition of any restrictions, no matter what they are, in bringing things in that have been purchased with legally earned foreign currency applies to people who have gone abroad and who have earned that foreign currency. There is another category of citizens who go abroad on private trips and do not earn anything there. They are going to see their relatives, let us say. In this case, the rules of the international New York convention will be in effect. Not more than $100 can be taken out or brought in. Taking into account the poor state of our internal market, we have agreed, with the consent of the Ministry of Finance, to raise the value of presents that can be brought in to R500. Everything that a citizen brings in over and above R500 he will have to pay customs duty on.

[Bakarinov] There are some funny things being said about bringing computers into our country.

[Boyarov] In the new rules we allow Soviet citizens to bring in an unlimited number of computers. If the citizen has worked abroad for 5 years and buys five computers with that money, he is welcome, let him bring them in. He will not pay any customs duty. This means there is only customs duty to pay, if the person sells the computer. In that case, the R5,000 he has to pay in customs duty will be fair. As of August 15 new customs rates will be in effect.

[Bakarinov] Will they go up or down?

[Boyarov] They will go down drastically. This is the third reduction in customs duties, in rates of customs duty, during the last 3 years. I can give you an example. Customs tariffs exist on 308 items. Customs duties are being decreased on 146 items, on practically half of them. Customs duties are being reduced on foreign-made motor cars by 30 percent. I am underlining foreign-made ones because Soviet cars are brought in customs-free. The duty on spare parts for cars is being reduced by 30-50 percent, the duty on tires and inner

tubes by 30 percent, and so forth. I would say there is a sharp decrease in customs on goods that are in shortest supply. [video shows Bakarinov interviewing Boyarov at a table]

Opinion Poll Assesses Congress Performance

PM2107150089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 29, 16 Jul 89 p 10

[Ya. Kapelyush and A. Kinsburskiy article: "USSR Congress of People's Deputies: Has It Measured Up?"]

[Text] The All-Union Centre for the Study of Public Opinion on Socio-Economic Issues (attached to the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] and the State Committee of the USSR for Labour and Social Issues) recently conducted a poll on attitudes towards the Congress of USSR People's Deputies—before and after the fact. The poll included: 1,100 residents in seven large cities (in May) and 2,100 residents of 47 areas, including 18 capitals of Union Republics, Territories and Regions, plus 13 small outlying towns and 16 rural districts (in June). In both cases, those polled were picked out at random.

Before the congress the consensus was that this forum should not confine its work to the election of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its President, but should cover other urgent issues as well, especially the political, economic and social situation; interethnic relations; recently adopted laws, decrees and decisions; the results of the elections; and the report on the progress of perestroika by the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

This mandate from those polled in May was largely implemented. The public is generally satisfied with the outcome of the congress; 70 per cent of those polled in June believed it was a success, 19 per cent did not and 11 per cent were undecided. The May forecast, however, was somewhat less definite: only 31 per cent of those polled thought the congress would be a success; 15 per cent believed it would be a failure and the other 54 per cent were undecided.

At the same time, the polls revealed a vast range in people's opinions, closely linked to difference in opinions about power and who should have it. There are four types: A. The power should belong exclusively to the congress of the USSR People's Deputies. B. The supreme power should belong either to the USSR Supreme Soviet or be divided between the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet. C. Real powers should belong to the Party and government machine. D. No opinion or none of the political institutions mentioned above is preferable.

	Before the Congress	After the Congress		
	(percentages)			
	in large cities	in large cities	in small towns	in villages
Type A	54	66	57	53
Type B	27	19	22	21
Type C	6	10	12	18
Type D	13	5	9	8

As one can see from the table, the idea that the congress should have all the power, has become even more widespread since its first session. Public opinions expressed in the poll coincided with the basic thesis of the Decision of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies "On the Main Directions of the Internal and Foreign Policy of the USSR" that the congress "in keeping with the people's will, assumes the entire supreme power in the country". (Incidentally, the poll was conducted prior to the publication of the Decision and so could not have been influenced by it.)

The first session of the congress gave people more confidence in their opinions and made them more politically-minded. Those with no definite opinions have dwindled in number. People in favour of giving all the powers to the congress as well as those who fvour leaving the power in the hands of the apparatus have grown in number. By the way, those who favour the congress increase closer to the capital; while the further one gets away from the capital the more proponents there are of the apparatus.

The following table gives an idea of the range of people's opinions and whether their expectations were met by the congress (percentages):

	Type A	Type B	Type C
The organization of the congress's work, the timeliness of necessary materials and documents, and the technological equipment in the hall was:			
good	47	53	64
bad	45	40	24
no opinion	8	7	12
The procedure for electing the USSR Supreme Soviet (nomination, discussion of candidates and voting) was:			
good	58	65	73
bad	30	24	15
no opinion	12	11	12
Election of Mikhail Gorbachev as President of the USSR Supreme Soviet was:			
supported	83	86	84
not supported	11	9	10
no opinion	6	5	6

	Type A	Type B	Type C
The opinion that the congress's decisions have created a firm foundation for real and quick changes for the better of the lives of people and their country is:			
corroborated	46	51	55
not corroborated	33	26	22
no opinion	21	23	23
The congress in general was a success:			
agree	68	78	76
disagree	22	16	13
no opinion	10	6	11

The data show that: First, positive opinions outnumber negative ones in all groups of pollees, which corroborates the earlier conclusion about the generally positive assessment of the results of the congress. Second, people's opinions vary (sometimes drastically) depending on their attitude toward the congress. Those for the shifting of power to the congress have a more critical attitude generally and voice fewer positive and more negative assessments as compared against those who favour the preservation of the former system of power sharing.

Public opinion polls show that people are increasingly interested in matters of state. The process of awakening millions of people to politics—a process which started during the spring election campaign—continues.

People's Deputy Comments on Nina Andreyeva

LD1608152289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 33, 13 Aug 89 p 15

[People's Deputy Dr Gennadiy Lisichkin article: "Nina Andreyeva: For and Against"]

[Text] The magazine "Molodaya Gvardiya" (No. 7, 1989) published a letter by Nina Andreyeva, a familiar name to readers in the USSR and abroad. After her article "I Can't Give Up My Principles", published in "Sovetskaya Rossiya", March 13, 1988, her name came to symbolize the ideas and attitudes that perestroika is supposed to overcome if we really want to make our economy more efficient and life in this country cleaner, wealthier and happier.

The Sovetskaya Rossiya publication initially drew much support from certain quarters. Some republican, regional, district and army newspapers dutifully reprinted the publication. Nina Andreyeva, as she told the Yugoslav newspaper Vjesnik (Nov. 1988), received more than three thousand letters from groups and individual citizens, 90 per cent of them expressing approval of her views. In the six months that followed the publication, according to Nina Andreyeva, she met with more than 500 people from different places around the country. And people were drawn to her not through idle curiosity. In the above-mentioned interview, Nina Andreyeva also refers to those who were not delighted with her article. "The people hostile to my article in Sovetskaya Rossiya, are militant nationalists, primarily zionists who dismiss socialism out-of-hand in the past, today and in the future." Clearly, Nina Andreyeva also lists among "militant nationalists" the authors of the famous Pravda article criticizing her views. In the same breath she adds to the list the newspaper editors who had provided space for the publication.

It's more than a year since the flareup of the conflict around Andreyeva's article. A long time, when you consider how rapidly people in this country are becoming politically mature.

What direction has this process of maturity taken? The Pravda article explained that Andreyeva's views - an antiperestroika manifesto - are incompatible with perestroika. The answer is to be found in Andreyeva's fresh publication in Molodaya Gvardiya, which maintains that the official condemnation of Andreyeva's view, far from having made her unpopular among people who are concerned about the future of the country, may have boosted her public image among certain groups of society. According to Andreyeva, those who share her views are not Stalin epigones but, as a rule, young people who know about Stalinism from books which do not glorify the "genius of all people".

I would like to question Andreyeva's assessment of the high degree of public support of her views. But this would be burying my head in the sand. My position is diametrically opposed to the one advocated by Andreyeva and her followers, but, taking a sober look at the situation, I think she is right in her optimism. It is not a matter of counting who is for and who against Andreyeva, a personality, a leader of a certain brand, but rather of the conscious, spontaneous acceptance by our people of the views that she consistently adheres to. A number of publications in our press taking the traditional standpoint on "market socialism", defend the present egalitarian version of social justice which demoralizes society, reject outright the idea of cooperatives and deliver massive blows at economists, who are blamed for all past and present economic failures.

In conditions of pluralism, of course, it is usual and normal that varying, sometimes mutually exclusive or archaic views, exist. But when archaic views start to prevail, it's time to sound the alarm. This prevalence, by the way, could be observed time and again at the first Congress of People's Deputies. Andreyeva and her followers had a chance to see during such moments at the congress how publicists and journalists and many elected delegates in the country's legislature, apart from individual authors, shared the same views on the future of our social development set out so clearly in the well-known Sovetskaya Rossiya article. This much should be realized and taken account of.

It is a legitimate question: Whence the viability and growing popularity of Andreyeva, i.e., of her philosophy? First, as Andreyeva writes in Molodaya Gvardiya, "For

four years now, there had been more talk about perestroika than real deeds." The declining efficiency of our economy is a strong trump card in the discussion Andreyeva and her followers conduct with the leading economists whom she refers to as "the so-called foremen of perestroika".

Nina Andreyeva puts forward the reasonable proposition that "Given all its importance and sovereignty, glasnost can't be a goal in itself, glasnost for glasnost's sake". Indeed, I'm not going to be any happier if I'm told about yet another disaster the day it occurs instead of a month or two later. It would be better to see open criticism which is promptly followed by effective action. This rarely happens.

Perhaps unwittingly, Soviet miners upheld yet another of Andreyeva's premises: It is impossible to go on just waiting. It's time to foot the bills. More so because world experience says that you don't have to wait long for the results if the choice of the economic development strategy and tactics is correct.

Let's not discuss industrialized European countries. Let's take once backward Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and now Turkey, Spain and Portugal which provide a hard evidence that investments in the economy can pay off immediately rather than in a vague future obscured by irresponsible investors. Here Andreyeva is right for the fourth time emphatically demanding that an end be put to sweet promises to the people of well-being in a beautiful future without naming the precise date. This future never seems to arrive.

There is another fact that adds ammunition to Andreyeva in swaying the public opinion rather successfully. I have in mind her opposition to official propaganda, to a certain circle of officials who, in conditions of a credibility gap, are creating a halo around her name. Nina Andreyeva's popularity is, besides everything else, a reflection of the popular yearning for public figures who have a distinct image and who do not change their views on important matters when expedient. This should be reckoned with. This should also be borne in mind in fighting for the ideas of perestroika.

Where does Andreyeva go wrong? Primarily in her assessment of our past and present position. My sense is that Andreyeva lays it on thick describing the achievements and advantages of the socialism we live under and condemning all of us for "...jeering at all that is scared, that real generations of Soviet people built and suffered for". Along with Andreyeva's letter, which forgets all the deaths and suffering, the magazine has published a short contribution by V. Pereverzev entitled "Twenty Million (Notes on the USSR's Demographic Development in 1918-1939)".

The author admits that his count of the people who died in the USSR during peacetime repressions is not precise and underestimated, but according to this estimate, more than 20.1 million lives were lost. How did those people die? Not like they would have died fighting a war. Writes V. Pereverzev: "In the Crimea there were instances of cannibalism, people eating dead bodies, 'devouring their own children'. In the Chelyabinsk Province, 'instances of people eating dead bodies were recorded in almost all the districts'. In the Pugachev District alone of the Samara Province, 29 people eating dead bodies were registered." What do we make of it? Nina Andreyeva is a courageous woman. She thinks that if mom and dad eat their little son or daughter for supper, it isn't very important as long as the parents keep their faith in the radiant future, and don't grumble about means vs ends.

The means used in the past are considered justified also for the present and future, it seems. Who can agree with that? Do Andreyeva's followers realize what they doom themselves and their progeny to, if this kind of philosophy is not only preached but also implemented again?

Andreyeva is inclined to colour not only the past, but the present as well. In her letter to Molodaya Gvardiya she thinks that "overdramatized economic difficulties provoked the attacks on socialism". They are trying to comfort us that there is nothing awful taking place in our economy. We are asked not to dramatize the facts that the national market where we find it hard to buy even a bar of soap is visibly crumbling, that the state is 312 billion roubles, i.e., a third of the GNP, in debt, that the budget deficit is 120 billion roubles and widening. We and Andreyeva's followers should be alerted by these comfortings. If not, things will be real bad. But at the moment it is important to realize that all these troubles had been accumulating over the years, they are not caused by perestroika, that all the problems can't be solved at a stroke.

Andreyeva is trying to shift the major blame for the economic failures onto economists. One can understand the illiterate peasants in Tsarist Russia who used to blame epidemics on the doctors, and tried to square accounts with them for the plague the doctors inflicted on the people. If society is going to try and cure itself rather than die, it should be careful about educated people blaming all the economic failures on scientists in our day and age.

Considering accusations of Andreyeva and her followers about economists, one should take account of the following. Like scientists in other fields of research, economists at one time or another were not only persecuted, but also physically destroyed. They perhaps suffered even more because economics is closely meshed with politics. Not only economists were exterminated, but their works were taken out of use. Naturally enough, this wasn't done on economists' initiative. But the net result is that economic science ended up without a past, the continuity and dynamics of development of social ideas broke down.

Most important, economic science was prohibited to explore one of its most essential aspects: value and the market. Research into them was as severely persecuted as the research into genetics and cybernetics at one time.

The essence of the command system is in that it has no use for science which limits the bureaucracy. Bureaucrats need flatterers rather than real scientists. If Andreyeva casts her aspersions on such flunkeys, I'm with her. But what do real science and scientists have to do with that?

Andreyeva and her followers look at the corpse of economic science and throw stones at it, an occupation not so new in this country. It's high time to abandon the view of science and scientists of the Chinese cultural revolution. But as we can see some people don't think so. And there is no knowing who is going to win. But already at this point it should be resolutely stated that perestroika in the economy falters not because scientists' recommendations are being realized, but simply because their recommendations are either not being realized or are being realized in such a way as to discredit them. Think of the legislation on unearned incomes, the ups and downs of co-ops, the constant delays of the switch to wholesale trade.

In her letter Andreyeva criticizes economist Tatyana Zaslavskaya who states that perestroika "is supposed to ensure a fundamental redistribution of power, rights and freedoms amongst the social classes". Andreyeva writes: "It's not clear through, in whose favour they are going to 'fundamentally redistribute the power and freedoms' of the Soviet people. The political structures in opposition to the Party are rather successful in solving the question of power raised by Zaslavskaya." In other words, things are presented in such a way that Zaslavskaya, who has many supporters among active perestroika advocates, allegedly wants all power to be turned over to members of all sorts of "inofficial groups". This is clearly rubbish. Things can never be improved by replacing one bureaucracy by another. The real issue is the redistribution of the right to the surplus product.

Our society has ended up with an odd system. Its citizens find themselves divided into two groups unequal in social worth and numbers. One huge group concentrates on producing the surplus product while the other, numerically very small group, concentrates on spending it. We have suffered from this set-up enough, and will suffer more in the future unless we change the situation. It's easy to spend money that you didn't earn, but this spending won't be efficient. We now know the costs of the so-called "projects of the century", all sorts of canals and reservoirs. Zaslavskaya and her numerous supporters think that the surplus product should be at the disposal of those who produce it. Thus what's at issue is a redistribution of power in such a way that the producer should be made the full master of his product. This idea generates practical proposals to introduce complete cost accounting and self-financing at enterprises, leasing, and regional cost accounting. All these ideas are known to have been enthusiastically approved by the striking miners. Curiously, "defender of people's interests" Andreyeva never once dealt with the problems of who should be in charge of manufactured products, what's to be done to end the alienation of the producer from his product, an alienation that warps both the economy and our morals. But then it is no accident that those who still believe in the old command system never give a thought to these problems.

In her letter to Molodaya Gvardiya Andreyeva bills herself as a perestroika supporter. The analysis of her attitudes, even those given here, shows that they clash with the idea of perestroika. Each of us perhaps still retains some of the dogmatic conservative ideas represented by Andreyeva in such a concentrated form. We should give up those ideas as soon as possible to live decently. But some people don't feel like doing it, and instead they actively club together to oppose the salutary process of change going on in society, this causes anxiety over the future of perestroika whose young shoots need protection.

GOVERNMENT HERALD To Report on KGB

LD1608215989 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Boris Viktorov:

Perestroika, democratisation and openness are increasingly manifest in the activity of the USSR State Security Committee. This idea keynoted the pronouncements by state security committee officers at a meeting with scientists of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Oriental Studies Institute.

This meeting turned into a lively and open dialogue, confirming that "traditions" of maintaining silence about the state security committee are gradually becoming a thing of the past. Moreover, it was stressed that in conditions of the democratisation processes in the country the management of the state security committee attaches particular importance to informing the public about the security service's activity. Some news media already have special rubrics telling about the state security committee's work. This rubric will soon appear in the GOVERNMENT HERALD weekly.

Meetings with work collectives similar to the one which was held today are becoming traditional. Vladimir Strunin, head of the USSR State Security Committee Press Bureau, said that free access will soon be opened to the "Cheka hall", a museum telling about the history and today's work of the state security bodies.

Speakers noted that as society's life undergoes changes, the functions of the committee are also modified and the priorities in its activity revised. For instance, the fifth department, which was engaged in efforts to prevent acts

of the so-called ideological subversion, was disbanded. On the other hand, security bodies' involvement in efforts to fight organised crime, smuggling, narcotics trafficking and industrial espionage is becoming increasingly relevant today.

Speakers pointed to the state security committee's interest in forming and strengthening ties with secret services in other countries to achieve such common goals as to stamp out terrorism, drug trafficking and smuggling. In this regard, they cited as positive the example of the coordination of effots by the USSR and Israel to detain and extradite the terrorists who took hostage children in the city of Ordzhonikidze, Northern Caucasus, with the aim of hijacking a plane and commandeering it to Israel.

It was reported that the State Security Committee studies the issue of establishing working contacts with Interpol. However, conditions of a political nature, which are set forth by Interpol, hamper this at present.

More Gorbachev TV Addresses Urged

PM1608124989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Reader's letter under the rubric "Mail on Last Page": "Leader's Address to the People"]

[Text] When I learned that M.S. Gorbachev would speak on the "Vremya" program I turned on the television set without knowing what the head of state would talk about. Although the theme of his speech could probably have been announced in advance. I listened with great interest to his thoughts on problems of our interethnic mutual relations.

It is a good thing that our leader communicates with people a lot and speaks on television from time to time. But do there really need to be extraordinary circumstances for this? Why should it not be made a rule that, for instance, on every last Friday of the month the head of state should address the people and the nation to describe the problems of the past month and what awaits us in the immediate future.

It is true that all kinds of conferences, aktivs, and plenums are often held in our country. And often lengthy reports on them are published in the newspapers. But nothing can take the place of a direct address to the people by the head of the party and state. That form seems to me more democratic.

I think that other political leaders should also address a television audience more frequently and comment on important events.

[Signed] G. Kobrisenko, Donetsk

Chernobyl Radiation Affects Plants, Wildlife

LD1408082889 Moscow TASS in English 0755 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Minsk August 14 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy:

Authorities in Belorussia have decided to set up a special sanctuary on the territory of three regions, stricken by the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, from where the population was evacuated.

Specialists want to know how radiation affects wildlife and plants, and what its present and future consequences are. High levels of radiation in the first period seriously damaged pines and spruces within 6 to 7 kilometers of the nuclear station. Nearly 1,000 hectares of forest are expected to die in the wake of the Chernobyl disaster.

With radiation levels in the affected forests reaching 300-450 rads (man develops acute radiation sickness at levels of 300 rads and more) and needles of a pine-tree retain the same shape but increase their mass ten times. On the border between the dead, or the so-called "red", forest, there are giant conifers, whose growth was affected by the tragedy. Oak leaves are half of the size of burdock and there are acacia trees with blades as large as a child's palm.

High concentrations of radioactivity were found on the bottom of water reservoirs. Belorussian specialists in hydrobiology and ichthyology studied invertebrates and fish and discovered a high concentration of radioactivity in fish of prey, like pike and perch. Water bugs and leeches were found to have the same high dose. In bream and roach, the liver is most contaminated, with the skin, skeleton and muscles affected to a smaller extent.

Hedgehogs, shrews, as well as bank voles which are rather common in the republic, were found to have high concentrations. Although rodents developed genetic abnormalities, no marked changes occurred in their condition and behaviour.

High concentrations of radionuclides were found in teals, mallards and coots, the main objects of hunting. Wild ducks are comparatively "clean", as they moved from the zone to fish breeding farms where they feed on combined fodder.

Among the mammals, wild boars, foxes and rabbits have the highest level of radioactivity, while elk, deer, roe deer and wolf are least affected. Specialists have not so far noted abnormal behaviour which could be traced to radioactivity.

Nuclear Safety Committee on July Stoppages

LD1308001289 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] The recently created Committee for Control of Safety in Industry and Nuclear Power Engineering says July was a quite month for the Soviet nuclear power plants. Only four sudden stoppages and five unforeseen energy slumps were registered across the country last month. No safety regulations were violated and there were no radioactive leaks. Information about the performance of nuclear power plants is supplied to the committee by its own inspectors at each plant.

Myasnikyan Chemical Works To Remain Closed

LD0708094889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Summary] The Myasnikyan chemical plant in Kirovakan is not to be restored in its present form because of its harmful effect on the environment. Correspondent Koryun Khumaryan says the plant was not wrecked by the recent earthquake, otherwise a huge disaster would have resulted. Karlen Danylyan, secretary of the Kirovakan city party committee, says in interview that the city's ecology has been improved 50 percent. It was once a spa. Of the works' 3,000 employees, about 2,000 are now jobless; efforts are being made to find work for them.

Orenburg Pipeline Explosion Kills Three

LD1608135189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Here is a report from Orenburg: There has been a mighty explosion on a section of the gas pipeline serviced by the Orenburgtransgaz Directorate as a result of the zealousness of a group of workers and builders collecting scrap metal. They discovered two large pieces of pipe alongside the pipeline. Thoughtlessly, the driver brought his mobile crane close and picked up the load. At that moment the walls of the pipeline were breached and the gas, at 48 atmospheres of pressure, rushed out. A few seconds later there was an explosion and a fire started.

Three people were seriously burned and subsequently died at the hospital. Fire consumed the vehicle and the crane. Because of basic carelessness and equipment safety rules being broken, we again have grieving families and material damage.

It turns out that the team did not have the necessary special permission to carry out work in the restricted zone around the pipeline.

Organized Crime Suspected in Death of Journalist

18001459 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Aug 89 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Levikov: "Murder of a Journalist"]

[Text] The son of the executive secretary of OGONEK, Vladimir Glotov, was killed a few days ago. He was 26, also named Vladimir, and also a journalist.

Late in the evening, he was telephoned at his apartment and called away under some pretext and cruelly disposed of. Volodya was found under a tree next to his house in a puddle of blood with a broken skull and larynx and a face deformed beyond recognition. Nothing was taken. A certificate of a military veteran of the Afghan war was in his pocket. He returned alive from the terrible war only to die at the hands of criminal scum in Moscow! His mother, father, and those close to him said their final farewells with the coffin lid closed, as was the case of the dead from Afghanistan.

Members of the Criminal Investigations Office arrested a suspect. Did he commit the crime alone? How could he inflict such bizzare injuries? Who is behind it? The young journalist was in contact with dangerous circles. Before his military service he was a teacher, and after he returned from Afghanistan he went to work at the "Soviet Trade," at the "Fact" press center, collected materials on the Mafia, spent some time for that purpose in Transcaucasus and Fergan, from which he returned recently, and sought contact with one of the gangs of racketeers. He already had been attacked by a group. But Volodya Glotov is a handsome, strong man, practiced karate—that time he managed to stand up for himself. He came back beaten up, told about the attackers' threats: "We have been paid for you, you have your job, we have ours."

Such threats are not always empty. The world of the criminals is becoming more insolent and cynical. A murderer for hire, in prison for another reason, even gave an interview to a popular television program telling prices for a human life then current in that bloody market.

Is there a connection between the professional activities of Glotov, the threats against him, the previous attack, and the tragic events of his last night? This I do not know and cannot confirm. This will be investigated and the court will tell. It is possible that other motives will be found for the bestial execution. Why didn't he let the militia know? He used to say: "Business among men." Why did he leave his house at midnight, in response to a phone call, leaving his grandfather and a female guest in the apartment? Much remains to be clarified.

But this is what I want to ask you, my colleagues: Haven't they recently started to kill journalists too frequently? We just heard the horrible news about the execution of the young regional newspaperman Nikolay Nikiforov in Chuvashiya, and here is another...Coincidence? Or is somebody intimidating the press, trying to cut its throat?

It is our professional and moral duty to pursue this to the end.

Increased Pensions for Repression Victims Urged

18001501 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by Ye. Yevtushenko, USSR people's deputy and co-chairman of the public council of the "Memorial" foundation: "To Recompense Irredeemable Guilt"]

[Text] **Guilt for which no amount of money can compensate is called irredeemable. Such is the guilt of our state and society toward those whom we call "the illegally repressed."**

United under this general term are those who were "de-kulakized"—revolutionaries, scientists, writers, and the wives and children of the "enemies of the people." There were millions of them, and only a few have survived to this day. These are people who were miraculously spared, people who are survivors. Their ranks are becoming ever thinner. We must treat them with all the more concern in order to enliven the remainder of their lives with our attention and tenderness.

In spite of our economy's crisis situation, the USSR Supreme Soviet has nonetheless adopted a long-awaited law raising the scale of pensions to those with few resources. It merits honor and praise for this act. But somehow the illegally repressed, a category long deserving special attention, was not included in the categories of individuals whose pensions need to be raised. After spending 15-20 years behind barbed wire, working with ax, saw, and pickax under the most difficult northern conditions, and being maimed by interrogations or prison labor, these people, these heroes and invalids of Stalin's terrible war against his own people, have earned increased pension and privilege provisions. It would be a sin for us to be miserly, as history was not miserly to them when it came to the inhuman torments so cruelly and generously bestowed upon them.

We must not embark on the slippery, bloodied path of a sociopolitical vendetta, but it is a historical paradox that those who sent others off to prison sometimes receive a much higher pension than those who were imprisoned. I deeply regret that the Supreme Soviet has not resolved this issue, despite the public's numerous inquiries, including my own and that of my fellow people's deputies. The answer is probably hidden in the same unnamed reasons that control the red tape over the official registration of the all-union "Memorial" society. There is no desire to legitimize historical guilt. There is no desire to acknowledge any more than need be that which has already been irreversibly acknowledged by the epoch. But a rule-of-law state begins with the legitimate acknowledgment of violations of human rights.

I hope that the Congress of People's Deputies will make corrective amendments to the law. Acknowledging historical guilt is the guarantee that repeating it is impossible. Even if it is irredeemable, we should, all the same, try to recompense this guilt at least partially.

Typhoon Causes Deaths, Damage in Pacific Maritime

LD1508095189 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] In the Pacific maritime territory in the Soviet Far East, 109 population centers have been affected by the typhoon called Judy which caused enormous damage. Sixteen people died, crops were destroyed on 120 hectares, a lot of cattle died. Floods destroyed bridges and electric transmission lines, dozens of people lost their homes. The authorities are doing all they can to help the victims of the natural disaster—people are evacuated to temporary dwellings, summer camps, and holiday homes. Teams of workers, students, and servicemen are engaged in supplying them with food, clothing, and medicine. The deluge is beginning to recede.

Church Official on Relations With State

LD1408185989 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Anna Grigoryeva:

Metropolitan Alimpiy of Moscow and All-Russia, head of the Russian Orthodox Old Believers' (the old faith) Church, marked his 60th birthday today.

A service, conducted by the metropolitan himself, was held at the 18th-century Moscow Cathedral of Intercession today for this occasion. A ceremonial meal was given by the metropolitan after the service. It was attended by Mikhail Ivolgin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council for Religious Affairs, Clergymen, representatives of different dioceses and foreign guests who congratulated the metropolitan on his 60th jubilee.

Metropolitan Alimpiy—Aleksandr Gusev in the world, was born in Nizhny Novgorod (now Gorkiy) in 1929. He started his church career in 1966, first as a deacon and then as a priest. He took the monachal veil under the name of Alimpiy and was elevated to the rank of bishop soon. He was made the archbishop of Moscow and All-Russia at the Church Council of 1986 and was unanimously elected the first Old Faith metropolitan of Moscow and All-Russia at the jubilee Church Council during last year's celebrations of the 1000 anniversary of Christianity in Russia.

On the eve of the birthday celebrations, Metropolitan Alimpiy expressed his thoughts on the church to the press. He recalled the difficulties facing Old Believers ever since the 17th-century reforms of Patriarch Nikon to the 20th century when their traditions and customs were regarded as a symbol of backwardness. The metropolitan emphasised that the policy of restructuring is improving the relations of the Old Believers' church with the state. According to him, a legal document on relations between the church and the state, will help consolidate these new trends.

Speaking about his contacts with Old Believers in other countries, Metropolitan Alimpiy said that Old Believers had been persecuted in Russia since the 17th century. "As a result, many of them went abroad. But, even there they are keeping their religious traditions. Many Old Believers live in Romania, the United States, Australia and other countries. We are taking steps to expand contacts with them. Old Believers from the United States and Australia attended last year's celebrations of 1000 years of Christianity in Russia, and a delegation of our Old Believers has been to Romania."

"We are glad to tell our brothers Old Believers that we are now getting back old churches. Quite recently, we have been returned the 17th-century Church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour in Kostroma. We are also trying to get back monasteries. Although, we were also affected by past events and our financial situation is not very good, we believe in our future. for three centuries we have been fighting for our faith and the preservation of Russian culture. We have preserved well-known collections of ancient icons and manuscripts, the pride of old russian art. Several ancient manuscripts and books published in Russian before the 18th century have been handed over to the Soviet Cultural Foundation," Metropolitan Alimpiy said in conclusion.

Economic

Official Discusses Value, Status of Joint Ventures

18250192 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 32, 12-18 Aug 89 p 2

[Report on interview with I.D. Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, by S. Yuryev—not further identified: "For Whom Are Joint Ventures Advantageous?"; date, place, occasion not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Some of our readers come out against creating joint ventures, believing that the state is being "sold off" to foreign companies. Allegedly only the management of joint ventures gets rich, and it is not reflected in any way in the well-being of the people. Is this so?

The deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, I.D. Ivanov, responds to this and other questions from the mailbag of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

[Ivanov] The process of creating joint ventures cannot be viewed as "selling off" the state. Just the opposite, this is one form of attracting foreign funds and resources for the needs of our economic and social development. Along with foreign capital, advanced technologies and management experience enter the country, as well as additional investments whose total even now approaches R1 billion. These funds are used in mastering new production with a view to saturating the domestic market, as well as developing exports. In the process, the contribution of our resources to such a venture remains the property of Soviet partners, and the enterprises themselves operate within the framework of Soviet legislation.

[Yuryev] In your opinion, are there spheres in which the operation of joint ventures should be restricted or prohibited? Where can it be most efficient?

[Ivanov] The sphere of operations is usually selected for a joint venture by the Soviet partner and his parent organization. Along with this, we would like to see a greater number of joint ventures in the sphere of industry, especially those working for the consumer market. At the same time, we hardly need commercial and brokerage joint ventures whose operation results in neither new technology nor increment in production for our country.

[Yuryev] The number of joint ventures in our country recently rose abruptly. Nonetheless only a small part of them are actually in operation. In your opinion, what needs to be done in order for the joint ventures to finally start operating at full strength?

[Ivanov] At present approximately one-third of the joint ventures registered are in operation in the Soviet Union. However, if we exclude the service sector, their number in industry comes only to about 30. In this matter we must take into account that they need time for the assembly and modernization of equipment, expanding production and contacts with suppliers. This is why it is expected that the bulk of industrial joint ventures will become active in 1990 and 1991. This is when their operations will become perceptible in the domestic market of the USSR, including the consumer market.

[Yuryev] Legislation regulating the operation of joint ventures in our country has changed several times in the past 3 years. Has this brought any practical results?

[Ivanov] Let us recall first that the initial legislation regarding joint ventures has changed twice in our country. In particular, the process of setting them up has been simplified; their internal economic autonomy has been enhanced; additional preferences in taxes and share-holding have been provided. Foreign entrepreneurs viewed this as an improvement in the investment climate in the USSR. The pace of setting up the joint ventures has quickened; the average share of foreign capital in them increased from one-third in 1987 and 1988 to two-fifths in 1989. Under the new condition Soviet enterprises have begun to receive through the joint ventures more advanced technologies and a wider choice of interested partners.

[Yuryev] How is the issue of managerial cadres at joint ventures going to be solved?

[Ivanov] Managerial cadres for the joint ventures are now being trained at two Soviet schools of business opened at the USSR Academy of the National Economy

and the All-Union Foreign Trade Academy. There they gain systematic knowledge at a quite high standard of instruction. Unfortunately many homegrown "business schools" have proliferated in our country which speculate on the shortage of such cadres; I would not recommend that either Soviet or foreign enterprises get involved with them. Our cadres are also prepared by familiarization trips of Soviet specialists abroad at the enterprises of partners in joint ventures.

[Yuryev] Does someone monitor the operation of joint ventures in order to avert eventual violations of the laws of competition and discrediting of our country, as was the case when a joint venture billed the FRG for transporting freight for the victims of the earthquake in Armenia?

[Ivanov] As far as the financial control of the operation of joint ventures is concerned, it is performed by the USSR Ministry of Finance. I agree that the joint ventures have their own disreputable "foam," just as cooperatives do. With a view to eliminating it, the rules for suspending the activities of the joint ventures operating unconscientiously have been accepted, and the general rules of competition in the USSR market are being developed.

[Yuryev] There has been much talk recently about free economic zones in the USSR. Where and when will they be created?

[Ivanov] The decision has already been made to set up free economic zones in the vicinity of Vyborg (research and production zone) and in the area of Nakhodka (zone of in-depth raw material processing). The draft of a tourist and industrial zone in Novgorod is being worked on vigorously. There is a similar draft for Sochi.

[Yuryev] What is going to be the legal and customs status of free zones? Who will regulate their operation and how?

[Ivanov] No pertinent legislation concerning this issue has been worked out yet. However on an experimental basis these zones are created as autonomous economically accountable units with independent budgets and balances of payments. They are managed by the administration reporting to the local organs of authority and representing the zone in its mutual relations with the center and the regions in which it is situated.

Unlike the world practice whereby as a rule the zones are geared to exports, in the Soviet variant they will work primarily for the domestic market of our country. Particularly favorable conditions are created within the zones for the operation of not only foreign, but also Soviet enterprises. The traffic of goods and services between the zones and the foreign market will be exempt from customs dues and nontariff restrictions, including licensing.

[Yuryev] The USSR is currently conducting vigorous negotiations with the Common Market. What can be expected of these contacts?

[Ivanov] Direct contacts between the EEC and the Soviet Union were established relatively recently. The first unofficial consultations between the USSR and the European Communities were held in March 1988, and on 19 July of this year the first official round of talks took place. The signing of a broad-scale agreement on trade and cooperation is expected, which will create a solid legal foundation in the environment of both the transition by the EEC to its new capacity after the creation of a unified European market in 1992 and perestroyka in the USSR.

It may be expected that the agreement will affect spheres such as trade, industrial cooperation, investment, science and technology, currency and loans, as well as the regimen of interaction in the energy economy, transportation, ecology, fishing, and tourism.

[Yuryev] Ivan Dmitriyevich, the GVK [State Foreign Economic Commission] was set up relatively recently. What is its role in carrying out our foreign economic policy?

[Ivanov] The GVK is a permanent organ of the USSR Council of Ministers, and it is called upon to direct and coordinate the foreign economic operations of our country. Its functions include determining the strategy of foreign economic contacts, participating in planning them, monitoring the execution of such plans, developing long-range economic norms and drafts of legislative documents and instructions on foreign economic activities, and solving interministry problems.

Over the time the GVK has been in operation, a new economic mechanism has been largely created which turns Soviet industry into a direct participant in foreign economic contacts. However, thus far a radical change regarding their efficiency has not been accomplished. The reason lies primarily in the fact that these contacts cannot be more efficient and healthier than the Soviet economy itself, on which they are based.

Communications Minister on 'New Funding'

18001506 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Minister of Communications E. Pervyshin and M. Zotov, chairman of the Board of the Industrial Construction Bank, by IZVESTIYA science editor B. Konovalov: "The Progress Fund"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] During his confirmation as a minister at the Supreme Soviet session, E.K. Pervyshin said that a joint-stock industry fund for the economic development of the communications equipment industry had recently been set up. The USSR Promstroybank [Industrial Construction Bank] became one of the major shareholders of

this fund. The reasons for this innovation and the advantages it promises for the national economy and all shareholders are the main topic of the interview we are publishing today.

[Konovalov] Erlen Kirikovich, the sluggishness of ministries, their express adherence to the administrative-bureaucratic methods of work and budgetary financing are criticized in the press on a broad scale. But in February of this year a joint stock-fund with economic control arrangements, which is alien for this administrative system, was created in your industry. Moreover, the minister was elected chairman of the fund by a secret vote at the meeting of shareholders. What objective reasons prompted the communications equipment industry to take this step?

Pervyshin: There were several considerations. First of all, the transition of the industry to economic accountability and the adoption of the Law on State Enterprise (Associations). The obvious economically progressive nature of these steps led to a number of problems at the same time. The independence of enterprises and the effort to boost their own profits by virtue of traditional products have come to contradict to a certain degree the general interests of our state, which vitally needs the most modern means of communications and radio, TV, and information support.

At present the accelerated process of saturating our society with data processing is underway, which makes it possible to eliminate the estrangement in managing the economy and to enhance our intellectual level, and which promotes the development of glasnost and the emergence of new thinking. The creation of highly efficient systems and means of communication, data transmission, and processing is the key problem of such saturation. In this field we have been trailing the developed countries thus far due to our long-lasting failure to fully appreciate the significance of this scientific and technical endeavor.

In 1974 when the Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry was formed, the investment in the communications industry was more than 10 times lower than in the United States, with approximate parity occurring in sectors such as railroad transportation, aviation, and power generation. The lag is still there despite our having doubled the volume of production in the industry in every 5-year plan. At present, tasks as research-intensive and complex as the development of fiber-optic communication lines, direct satellite TV transmissions, high-definition television, a system of mobile radio communications, and many other expensive programs are on the agenda. Reconstruction and technical retrofitting of enterprises will be required in order to carry out these programs.

Where are the funds for implementation of this to come from? Previously it was primarily financed from the budget, which was raised by withholdings from the profit of industrial enterprises, and it was impersonal. The ministry was a transmitting element between the state and enterprises in this bureaucratic management system.

Such a form of existence of ministries has now outlived its usefulness. Coercing the enterprises contravenes the law. However, the need has not disappeared for an organizational cell, a structure that would ensure the technical and technological unity of partner enterprises and their balanced development. The need for carrying out large-scale research and technology programs for the development of the newest endeavors and modernizing the enterprises on a modern basis has not disappeared, but, on the contrary, has increased. Therefore, we decided to switch from the method of coercing enterprises to implementing the principle of completely voluntary participation in order to solve these problems.

The industry-wide joint-stock fund for scientific-technical and economic development was set up on the initiative of associations, enterprises, research institutes, and design bureaus with the support of the ministry and the USSR Promstroybank.

At present there are 86 shareholders of the fund who have joined it voluntarily. The capital available allows for financing large-scale development projects at the enterprises of the communications equipment industry. The enterprises remain independent in the process, but allocate some of their profits for the comprehensive development of promising technical endeavors and corresponding production in the industry as a unified company. In the process, the ministry takes a substantial step in the direction of turning into a joint-stock company consisting of independent divisions that have both their own and general company interest. Weak enterprises get on their feet and develop in the process due to repayable loans rather than through fleecing the strong ones "in the interest of the state" without compensation.

[Konovalov] Mikhail Semenovich, what has prompted the USSR Promstroybank to become a shareholder in this company?

Zotov: The era of perestroyka in our country, the economic reform. Previously we just gave money to those who were entitled to it according to the resolutions and instructions of the government. We were merely executors. However, the situation has consequently emerged by now whereby only 10 to 15 percent of facilities under construction will manufacture products conforming to the world standard after they are completed. We are now switching from a passive execution investment policy to an active one and invest money in promising pursuits that our country needs, helping all along the way from developing an idea to the serial manufacturing of new products.

We proceed along two avenues. On the one hand, we set up innovation risk banks which should support our country's engineers and inventors in implementing their

ideas. Such banks have already been created in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Vilnius, Tashkent, Novosibirsk, and Sverdlovsk. We become shareholders of investment banks, giving them 25 to 30 percent of capital. On the other hand, the USSR Promstroybank supports large research and technology programs. Our stock holdings in the development fund of the communications equipment industry are one example of that.

In this instance, we act as partners on an equal footing with an industry whose development is vital for the country. We provide bank loans for a specific length of time and at a specific interest rate. However, our experts definitely make a prior assessment of the prospects and significance of projects.

There is also another aspect of our fruitful cooperation with the industry fund. At present a trend is emerging to create in the ministries their own "pocket" banks through which the ministries still try to manage the financial resources of enterprises, restricting their economic independence and thus violating the Law on State Enterprises (Associations) by circumventing it. In its turn, the communications equipment industry uses our services. We carry out for them all the banking operations needed. Unlike the usual practice of not paying interest, we pay a certain rate of interest to enterprises that deposit money in our accounts, just as the savings banks do.

We also have our own technical stake in participating in the fund of the communications equipment industry. We intend to develop through our joint effort technical facilities for improving cash and monetary services in our country, for introducing "magnetic" money on a broad scale, because the organization of special communications systems and those for the real-time transmission of information will allow us to considerably enhance the potential of banks.

[Konovalov] Won't the fund become a new management superstructure? What is the size of its staff? How is the interaction with enterprises actually organized?

Pervyshin: At the first meeting of shareholders, a council of the fund consisting of 17 persons was formed which sets its general policy. A directorate consisting of 26 specialists, of whom only three are full-time staff, is the executive organ. Skilled specialists in technology fields, foreign and domestic marketing, foreign economic operations, and economists and financiers of the USSR Promstroybank and shareholder enterprises cooperate with the fund.

The fund acts as the contracting party, creditor, and organizer of work ensuring the development of new research and technical endeavors. It also subsidizes the modernization of enterprises and their social development. The point of the fund is that we get an opportunity to concentrate the efforts and funds of enterprises and solve problems quickly.

Zotov: However, all of that is done on the basis of repayable credit. The shareholder enterprises and our Promstroybank receive dividends due to the economic effect of carrying out the projects. For us this is the embodiment of the principle "the better a client performs the better it is for the bank." Financing for outlays entailed in the development of new technology and its implementation in production is provided under contracts. Financing begins at an early stage of designing a new technology. Industrial output is the subject of a contract rather than a prototype, as has been the case to date in the classical pattern of creating new technologies. This makes the developer and producer make the final result his objective. Economic and financial incentives to all participants of the development-to-production process are immediately established. Contractual procedures for financing the development of new household radio and electronic products also make it possible to counteract the desire to derive incomes at the expense of "dropping" the inexpensive product lines.

[Konovalov] Unfortunately, by now a situation has emerged in our country whereby there is a shortage of virtually everything, with the exception of money which the Goznak [Main Administration for the Production of State Bills, Coins, and Orders of the USSR Ministry of Finance] plants are printing diligently. Where do the material resources for the fund come from?

Pervyshin: Only the intensive development of wholesale trade, which we very much hope for, can solve this problem radically. However, due to the fund we may use the material funds allocated to us by the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] more efficiently, and—this is most important—openly, right now. Capital investment ceases to be "grab investment," which it is now, when enterprise managers strive to grab a greater piece of our "common pie" knowing that they will not have to pay for it. However, you must calculate everything if you get it all on credit with interest to be covered with the sales of new products. The old principle that "he who takes more from the state lives better" does not apply any more. The efficiency of capital investment will definitely increase, the investment process will accelerate, and the time spans for commissioning new capacities will decrease due to the fund. At present, real prerequisites are being created for economically accountable mutual relations between the central apparatus and its subordinate enterprises; contracts are replacing orders.

[Konovalov] Erlen Kirikovich, you have said that the industry is now essentially turning into a large-scale joint-stock company. However, similar major radioelectronic corporations of the world, as a rule, have the entire "vertical line" beginning with the production of an assortment of parts to company-owned shops. In our state structure of the radio-electronic industry, this vertical line is chopped off at the bottom since the Ministry of the Electronics Industry produces the assortment of parts, and at the top, where we have the Mintorg

[Ministry of Trade] and the Gossnab. Perhaps it makes sense to build the radio-electronic industry on the principle of a complete vertical line. Could antimonopoly laws be introduced and socialist competition be arranged in the process?

Pervyshin: We have not only been talking for a long time about the need to combat monopoly practices, but have also written about it to high echelons. At present, many people advocate eliminating the ministries and turning enterprises into independent companies. I must say bluntly that a majority of the plants of the communications equipment industry thus far cannot compete with major companies due to their narrow specialization. In order to produce a set of TV studio equipment, technological equipment and special machine tools have to be made: this is one enterprise, major assemblies need to be produced; this is another enterprise, control and testing equipment need to be produced; this is a third enterprise. Some form of integration is needed in order to manufacture the final product. Call it what you want—a ministry, a concern, a syndicate, a corporation, a group, an association. Personally, I like the notion commonly accepted in the world, a joint-stock company, which reflects both the economic and organizational principle of the structure of the company. You are absolutely right in that integration should proceed vertically from specialized set assembly to marketing and company-owned services.

In the communications equipment industry, we tried to do this along a chain: an appliance, a system, servicing the product on-site for the clients. We have now switched to company-sponsored servicing of TV sets and other complete radio-electronic appliances produced by the industry. There are still many problems, but results are already apparent—the number of complaints by the populace have declined by a factor of 3 compared to last year.

A more profound integration is quite possible. At the first stage, the leading associations of the industry—for example, the Lvov NPO [Research and Production Association] "Elektron," the Moscow PO [Production Association] "Rubin," the Minsk PO "Gorizont," and a number of others—could be augmented by plant-producers of special technological equipment, control and testing devices, and some completing subassemblies. In justified cases three to four conglomerates have unified into a single organism from the scientific-technical and technological point of view, and with the status of a state enterprise preserved could ensure healthy competition in the country. This would be beneficial, but naturally this calls for decisions in the scale of the entire country.

Thus far we have been using our joint-stock fund in order to reinforce integration in individual endeavors. Customers may participate in the fund. At present we are proposing that enterprises of cooperating ministries join it. Not only will they obtain their share of profit, but the fund will also aid the development of production that we need in "someone else's" ministry. The scope of activities broadens with the merger of the former Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry and Ministry of Communications. We intend to develop joint-stock principles in the new Ministry of Communications and to implement economic methods of management.

[Konovalov] Mikhail Semenovich, what view does the USSR Promstroybank take of the further development of joint-stock funds in our country?

Zotov: Undoubtedly, this is a very successful experience, and we are trying to develop variants of it to the best of our ability. For example, we have now created the development fund of the timber and paper industry. In this instance, the bank plays a greater role, but the objective is the same—acceleration in the endeavors needed. We are also considering setting up an interindustry joint-stock fund. Such a fund would be very useful for, say, the accelerated development and expansion of new materials which many sectors of the national economy need. The joint-stock fund is a powerful device for the development of science, technology, and the economy, as well as culture. I am convinced that this "device" will be used on a broad scale in our country.

Pervyshin: I would only like to add that we are enhancing our joint-stock participation at present. Employees of enterprises may become shareholders. Then they will become actual owners of production facilities and will receive their share of profits. This will inevitably change their attitude toward their work. Everyone will try to work better, and this benefits our entire society.

Rail Ministry To Get New Computer System

18290256 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Aug 89 Second Edition p 9

[Article by A. Davidyants: "For the Steel Mainlines"]

[Text] The "Persey" NPO [Scientific Production Association] is well-known not only in our country, but abroad as well. The leading institute of the association—the Scientific Research Center of Computer Technology—is developing a Unified Computer System jointly with the socialist countries.

Today, in light of the transition to new management conditions, issues of providing a stable market for the sale and creation of long-term programs for the prospective development of production potentials have acquired paramount importance for the association's collective. But as world practice has shown, for these goals, it is necessary to have a systemic plan and supply organization geared toward the concrete consumer. This is why the "Persey" NPO recently began to develop powerful computer systems for various branches of the economy.

The Ministry of Railways [MPS] became the association's first major requisitioner. The NPO proposed that "Persey" begin joint work on the creation of standard automated systems for directing rail transportation. It

was determined that the Moscow railroad would be the first facility to introduce this new system. All basic technological processes will be completely automated on the capital's railroad.

Agricultural

Need for Improved Rural Living Conditions Weighed

PM1608110589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Article by V. Kalashnikov, director of the "Erdem" State Farm and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, under the rubric "Forum for People's Deputies": "Union of Hammer and Sickle"]

[Excerpts] Mukhorshibirskiy Rayon, Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic—Grain... Today it is the foundation of our economic reform and all perestroyka. The complete and rapid resolution of the food supply problem will determine the strength of the prestige of soviet power, the party, and specific political leaders in our country. This is probably one of the few assessments of the first Congress of People's Deputies that did not require heated debate. Yet there are things to argue about in this area.

What needs to be done to save our fatherland from a humiliating shortage of grain, meat, milk, oil, fruit, and vegetables? The appeal to the Congress from a group of farming deputies received wide support, as is well known. I share their view, particularly the demands to compel the country's leadership to really bring rural problems to the forefront of society's political life, to give peasants real freedom of decision and action, and to stop reducing capital investment in agriculture. In other words, I wholly agree with my colleagues that the resolution of the food problem should be the main priority in the next few months and years. But what ways and means will be used to implement this priority? Above all, locally?

At the last USSR Supreme Soviet session the discussion of ways to implement my colleagues' proposals, and on the whole the subject of overcoming food shortages, was overshadowed by other, also vital questions. This happened not least, in my view, under the influence of the wave of miners' strikes, which exerted a powerful influence on deputies' thinking and positions and on the entire course of the session in general. The Supreme Soviet corps of deputies and the new government were in an emergency situation and were forced to urgently set about resolving the chronic problems of the coal regions, postponing other priority concerns. There could be no other approach: We have all seen for ourselves just what catastrophic consequences are liable to be produced by disregard for and endless delays in satisfying the working class' urgent needs. Personally, the strikes convinced me of one further point: The consolidation of the working class with the peasantry and the strengthening of the union between them for which V.I. Lenin and his comrades-in-arms fought so passionately are vitally necessary in moving toward self-sufficiency in food, which is inconceivable without genuine independence or without smashing the system of administration by edict. [passage omitted]

In my view, arbitrary decisions by higher authorities should be prevented by the law on local self-management, which should without fail envisage the possibility of establishing direct ties between industrial enterprises and agricultural collectives on any mutually acceptable terms. What exactly these terms will be concerns no one apart from three legal persons: first, enterprises; second, collective farms, state farms, cooperatives, or lease collectives; and third, local soviets. If these three agree among themselves their initiatives will get the go-ahead. Nobody—neither ministries nor party oblast committees—is entitled to hamper such initiatives. Then the authorities' prestige at the local level will grow.

I see this as one of the main ways of regenerating the countryside and strengthening its material and cadre base. There are many other ways too. These were fully discussed at the Congress. They include cutting military spending, streamlining our foreign aid, halting the implementation of the so-called "projects of the century," and making more rational use of funds channeled directly into the agrarian complex.

This last point, in my view, is particularly topical. And it should be an indispensable subject of discussion at the second USSR Supreme Soviet session and, perhaps, at the next Congress of People's Deputies. After all, colossal sums and material funds have been invested over the past decades in developing the countryside—and there have been no proper returns. The problem is that the lion's share of these funds has been devoted to all sorts of concerns, but not to rural working people. If you go into any stockraising complex—those stone mansions—you'll be surprised at how scrupulously people have tried to make provision for a cow's every whim: There are automatic water bowls, ventilation, and other useful things. Yet too often the money turns out to have been wasted. Either all this automated equipment breaks down, or there is just nobody to service the complex—veterans get pensioned off, and young people give livestock units a wide berth. And all because there are not even elementary living conditions for the main people involved—be they milkmaids or herdsmen.

That is why during the fall parliamentary debates and at the second Congress of People's Deputies—which, I hope, will produce important results in the shape of fundamental decisions and documents on the radical restructuring of the agricultural complex—the most objective assessments will be required of how we ourselves, rural people, handle state funds. Soberly assessing our own, by no means innocent, activity, we should firmly explain that the most necessary and advantageous

capital investment today is spending for the sake of people. Spending on transforming their working and living conditions and their entire way of life. Our renewed worker and peasant authorities will still have to struggle a great deal to this end.

Statistics Committee Reports Harvest Yields

LD1608220789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Commentary by Valeriy Golubev, from the "Vremya" newscast; date and place not given—first paragraph is introduction]

[Excerpts] A regular report of the USSR State Committee for Statistics [Goskomstat] on the progress of fieldwork was compiled today. Grain crops have been cut from 54 percent of the sown area, of which 93 percent has been threshed. Over to our commentator, Valeriy Golubev.

[Golubev] Hello, comrades. The figures in the report indicate that grain harvesting has virtually been completed in the south of the country, the harvest is in full swing in the center, and it has just started in the east. The average yield of grain from the fields which have been threshed is just about 24 quintals per hectare, compared with 2 years ago when it was a little more than 20, and last year when it was about 22 quintals per hectare. To date farms have sold to the state 39 million tonnes of grain, which is 45 percent of the state order. At the same time the volume of purchases of top-quality wheat for consumption is nearly double that of last year's by this time. [passage omitted]

As the USSR Goskomstat reports, supplies of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit are up on last year at this time. [passage omitted]

Fuel Shortage Hits Kuzbass Harvesting Operations

PM1508131389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report under the "Acute Signal" rubric: "Transport System Grinds to Halt"]

[Text] Kemerovo—The harvesting system in the Kuzbass has been sputtering since the very first days of the harvest. And now that the weather is favorable in most rayons in the oblast, hundreds of grain procurement units and grain- and vegetable-harvesting combines are standing idle in the fields. Many machine operators, having filled their hoppers with grain, have been forced to turn off their engines and wait hours for trucks.

"This year there has been quite sufficient motor transport available for transporting the harvest on collective farms and state farms in the Kuzbass," N. Dementyev, political department chief at the "Kemerovoagrosnab" Oblast Association, said. "However, a considerable number of the trucks are not working owing to a lack of fuel. The situation is particularly alarming on farms in Yurginskiy, Chebulinskiy, Mariinskiy, Yashkinskiy, and other rayons."

At the "Kemerovonefteprodukt" Association this TASS correspondent was told that as of early August Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products organizations located in Krasnoyarsk Kray and Irkutsk Oblast were in arrears to the Kuzbass to the tune of 108 tank cars of gasoline, or almost one-third of the total shipments planned for this part of the month.

For instance, no gasoline has been received from Irkutsk Oblast for a week now. If it were dispatched today it would still take 5 days to arrive. But transport is currently "laid up" not only in the fields but at coal and metallurgical industry enterprises. The oblast's buses are on the brink of grinding to a halt. And this despite the fact that the government commission decided to allocate the region additional funds for gasoline.

Agricultural Presidium Discusses Siberian Drought

LD1508134189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] A session of the VASKhNiL [Academy of Argicultural Sciences] Presidium opened today in Novosibirsk. It is discussing problems concerning the further development of the country's antidrought measures in the particularly topical conditions of Siberia's unstable farming situation. Large areas of the region have been and are subjected to very harsh drought, but even in such conditions there are areas at the epicenter of the drought where grain crop yields are 2 or 2.5 times higher than in neighboring areas.

The itinerant session of the agricultural academy's presidium is directing staff of institutes, selection stations and experimental production farms in Siberia toward the further intensification of agricultural production under drought conditions and its steady development according to the region's soil and climatic zones.

Military

New Aircraft on Display at Air Show

LD1608141489 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Yevseyev:

Half a million people use the Soviet national carrier Aeroflot every day. Over seven months of this year this largest airline in the world carried a total of 75 million passengers.

These figures were cited by Boris Panyukov, first deputy minister of civil aviation, at a news conference devoted to soviet air force day to be celebrated on Sunday. For the first time in recent years air force pilots will be joined by workers of Aeroflot, the aviation industry, the voluntary society for assisting army, air force and navy and sports aviation. This explains why the news conference was attended by both civil and military pilots, including Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, first deputy commander-in-chief of the Air Force.

However, the news conference focused on the performance of aviation in various branches of the national economy. Today the total length of aeroflot lines exceeds a million kilometers. They link nearly 4,000 settlements and 122 cities in Europe, Asia, Africa and America.

Aeroflot is not without its problems. Many of them are solved too slow, Panyukov admitted. Every year approximately 15 million people cannot get Aeroflot tickets, service is lagging behind and flights are irregular. The Aeroflot leaders see a way out of the situation in perfecting management, renewing aircraft and introducing more efficient and reliable planes.

Since may this year military transport aviation was used for the first time to carry passengers and freight (vegetables). Factories, which used to produce mainly military planes, started the manufacture of civilian aircraft. The number of joint ventures with the firms from the U.S., Ireland, Britain, West Germany, Japan and other countries is rapidly rising. They deal with servicing long-haul passenger lines, refurbishing hotels and building food-packaging shops.

Representatives of the air force and the ministry of the aviation industry told the news conference about aircraft, helicopters and other technology to be shown at a display and an exhibition devoted to Soviet Air Force Day. Some of them will be unveiled for the first time.

Yazov, Others Mark Construction Workers' Day

PM1708080389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Unnamed own correspondent report: "In Honor of the Holiday"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to Construction Workers' Day has been held at the M.V. Frunze Soviet Army Central House.

The presidium comprised Army General D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; Army General I. Tretyak, commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces and USSR deputy defense minister; Colonel General N. Chekov, USSR deputy defense minister for construction and billeting of troops; Fleet Admiral A. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR State Committee for Construction, and the USSR Defense Ministry.

The ceremonial meeting was opened by Colonel General N. Kovalenko, chief of the Military Construction Units Political Directorate.

The military construction workers were greeted by Hero of Socialist Labor N. Sergachev, team leader at the Mosstroy-17 Trust; I. Katkova, engineer at the Moscow City Main Administration for Housing and Civil Construction's Moselektromontazh No 1 Trust; and twice Hero of the Soviet Union Pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR Major General of Aviation A. Nikolayev.

The meeting was addressed by Colonel General N. Chekov.

Defense Industry 'Closed' City Visited

18220189 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 9 Aug 89 p 3

[Article by V. Pyrkh, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent, Krasnoyarskiy Kray: "The City Behind Steel Gates"]

[Text] **One gets uncomfortable when documents are checked so carefully. Like at the border.**

But the strict procedures are over, and the bus drives through the open gates. Structures of a city concealed from outside eyes can be seen in the distance under the cover of the Siberian taiga. The people still call it a "closed zone."

They say that at one time people who worked here were not encouraged to leave the environs of the zone. To the point that if you took our rest leave in the zone, you would get additional money. Now, of course, the measures are not as strict. But up to the present time this city is not open to everyone.

In the decontamination station, I don sterile white special purpose clothing and, after placing my individual dosimeter in my pocket, I try not to fall behind the guides. Seeing an approaching group, V. Yershov, the chief of the shop, ordered:

"Kovalenko, let's go!"

An all-metal vehicle, and to be more exact, a transport packing unit, that was standing below opened up, and I saw a brilliant cigar-shaped object. A dosimetrist immediately rushed to it. Containers with spent nuclear fuel—so-called waste by-products—are brought here from atomic power stations of the country. They are put in storage in this shop in a special water reservoir.

The quiet voices of people, the familiar sound of the traveling overhead crane... The usual daily work. Including that of the dosimetrist. I am particularly

interested in his manipulations. The radioactivity of the waste by-products is 10 roentgens per second. But invisible death is put away reliably. I open the lid of the water reservoir, where one can see metallic capsules at a 10-meter depth. I observe with satisfaction that the arrow of the dosimeter is practically on zero. But, nonetheless, it is somewhat discomforting.

Seeing my concern, the understanding specialists smile: The radioactive background of the closed city, where they are located—and, of course, these are not chocolate factories—is much lower than, let us say, in Krasnoyarsk. And as for the ecology here and the danger for people, then it is not the local production but the smoke from the aluminum plant and the increasingly more frequent acid rains from other enterprises of the kray's center that constitute the real threat.

But just mention "closed zones" in a conversation, and the people then and there knowingly nod their heads: Of course, we know, we know... They do not pay money for no reason. And the provisions there, you understand, are very...

Yes, there was a time when more and more stories were spreading about the closed settlements. The city I am in now arose in response to an American monopoly in the years of the cold war. That is the reason it was surrounded by an atmosphere of secrecy, which was fully justified at that time. You go through the halls of the city museum, get acquainted with the exhibits of the chemical mining combine—the main local enterprise—and are amazed in what a short time we were able to create modern industry in the middle of the taiga. And it also helped the country to achieve nuclear parity. And not only it.

For example, the world's first national distribution satellite television system and all of the "Molniya" satellite series were created here in the "closed zone." Almost 100 "Orbita" ground stations that are operating in the country started out here. As, by the way, the "Gorizont" satellite, with whose help more than 1.5 billion inhabitants of the planet watched Olympiad-80. It is on the basis of "Molniya" and "Gorizont" that a single satellite communication system was created in our country, and this is telephone, telegraph and facsimile communications, and radiobroadcasting and television. Just in the past year, according to data of the USSR Ministry of Communications, the economic effect from the operation of the satellite communications system amounted to more than a half billion rubles.

Today, one can now talk about the person who 30 years ago came here on the instructions of Sergey Pavlovich Korolev, chief designer of space equipment, and organized the test-design bureau. This is Mikhail Fedorovich Reshetnev, permanent general designer and general director of the NPO [scientific production association] of Applied Mechanics, academician, and Hero of Socialist Labor. Much in the work of his association was a forewarning of first in the world—which, unfortunately, is a phrase that is not characteristic of our country now. But it is here that the world's first space communications system "Ekran" was developed, and now about 6,000 stations make it possible for inhabitants of the most remote and distant areas to receive telecast programs. The last creation of "celestial mechanics" is the "Glonass" space system, which enables seagoing ships to orient themselves on the oceans with extreme accuracy.

But, while "taking care of space," terrestrial concerns are not ignored. That is why the NPO assembly lines here put out the children's sports trainers "Kuznechik," motorized hang gliders, vacuum meat grinders, and other products. Next year, it is planned to produce these products in the sum of almost R6 million.

Incidentally, concerning the consumption about which so much is said when the talk turns to "closed zones." Indeed, actually the standard of living here is high. Excellent schools, kindergartens, sports facilities...

But almost 6,000 persons are in line for an improvement in living conditions. Each city resident purchases food and industrial commodities in the amount of 1,800 rubles per year. However, I dropped into a store, and there were the same ration tickets for sausage, meat, soap, sugar, and tea.

One can hide from an outsider's eyes. But it is not possible to conceal the problems with which the country lives.

And rumors have become hot with super earnings. The dosimetrist receives 240-300 rubles per month.

Times have changed. And money is no longer paid for leave taken in the zone. The system for inviting close relatives has also been simplified. It is rumored that even visits of acquaintances will be permitted. The previously highly secret city will raise its curtain.

But this process is still agonizing and painful. Especially for those who have lived here for dozens of years.

"The question arose recently about whether to open or not to open the 'closed zone'," explains I. Vlasenko, chairman of the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee]. "Thus, all of the pensioners protested: It is better that we give our own money for its protection..."

It is not difficult to understand the people. It is not a matter of material advantages. What kinds of benefits are there here, if everything in the stores is by coupons? Rather they are in the years of psychological comfort, in the stability, and in the additional legal protection itself that the high fence provides them.

...On departing the city, no one checked our bus, although it was not long ago that a dual check was obligatory. The metallic gates slammed shut safely. But I am confident that they will open up for everyone without fail. Sooner or later.